Yevhen Sheremet

Pamphlets

AFRAID OF JUSTICE: WHO AND WHY

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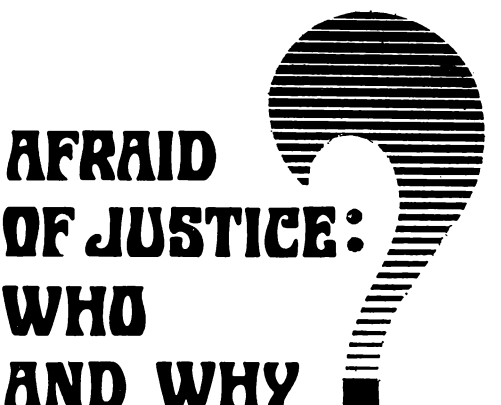

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AFRAID OF JUSTICE: WHO AND WHY?

The international community is stepping up efforts to preserve peace. Never before has the future of mankind depended to such an extent on the results of such efforts. The two world wars of the twentieth century took 60 million lives, but a global nuclear confrontation threatens to wipe out humanity from the face of the Earth altogether.

Prevention of a nuclear disaster, the legal prosecution of fascists of all denominations, and of their collaborators and henchmen who were responsible for genocidal practices in the territories, occupied temporarily by the fascist powers in WWII, is of no little importance. The fascists who faced trial in the Soviet Union were justly and severely punished in compliance with existing international accords and principles of strict amenability for committed crimes, and in accordance with the laws of the USSR.

Unfortunately, in some Western countries and particularly in the United States, the authorities are much too lenient to Nazi criminals and their nationalist collaborators. The U.S. secret service planned to use them in subversion against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as in intelligence operations. To be fit for the job these people had to show ardent anti-communism, deep-rooted racism, and extreme hostility toward everything Soviet. Many Nazi criminals were allowed to come to the United States practically right after the war.

According to the *New York Daily News* issue of June 9, 1980, the United States unfortunately had given shelter not only to the victims of Nazi cruelties but also to some of the most cruel Nazi butchers who were responsible for massive slaughter in Eastern Europe; they now live in comfort and are considered to be respectable citizens, their neighbors often having no idea of their hideous past. Other U.S. newspapers such as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* featured similar disclosures in recent years.

Under public pressure, some war criminals who had fled from justice to the United States after the war were brought before U.S. courts of law to stand trial. But so far there are very few cases of such legal actions due to the fact that sometimes these procedures take years to be completed and intentional delays are not infrequent either. In the meantime, dozens and even hundreds of former executioners and murderers freely enjoy the advantages of opulence, and indulge in their activities of disseminating propaganda filled with hatred. That is why progressively-minded people do not slacken their efforts in exposing the war criminals and bringing them to justice.

Why the Nationalists were Displeased with the "Holocaust Commission"

Under pressure from the international and American community, a special commission called "Holocaust" was set up in the United States to investigate the Nazi crimes of genocide perpetrated during WWII. The organizers of the Commission put forward the exposure of former participants of the Nazi campaign to exterminate Jews as one of the main tasks facing the Commission.

Ukrainian nationalist publications in the USA ignored the Commission at first, but after some members of the Commission visited Babiy Yar in the city of Kiev (Babiy Yar — a big ravine on the former outskirts of Kiev where the Nazis massacred over a hundred thousand people, including both civilians and prisoners-of-war), the Ukrainian nationalists in the U.S. began their verbal attacks on the Commission members. Not a single good word about the Commission was said. The Commission members were villified for having laid a wreath in Babiy Yar with an inscription in Hebrew instead of in Ukrainian. The villification suggests malicious anti-Semitism which is rampant among the Ukrainian nationalists. This is in essence the nationalist reaction to the "Holocaust Commission."

To provide an example, several remarks have been taken from the right-wing Uniate newspaper *America* (Philadelphia) which stated that the Commission discriminated against Americans of Ukrainian descent, its members were blinded with hatred toward Ukrainians, and the Commission members spread malicious slander about Ukrainians, etc. One thing should be pointed out here: in each of the remarks the nationalist author cynically distorts facts mentioning "Ukrainians" in general, whereas it is only the Ukrainian nationalists that are referred to. The Ukrainian people, in fact the absolute majority of Ukrainians, have never had anything in common with the nationalist traitors.

As far as the wave of anti-Semitism that hit the pages of the nationalist publications is concerned, there is only one explanation for it: racism bred in Ukrainian nationalists — the collaborators of Nazis — by Hitler propaganda, has spoken out. In spite of the fact that some nationalist publications are increasingly more active in recent years in trying to deny the participation of the nationalists in pogroms of Jews at the times of

the Civil War in Ukraine, and during the Nazi occupation in the Second World War, in most cases they cannot hide their hatred towards the Jews. Sometimes they do it with extreme cynicism. For example, M. Krupskiy, a regular contributor to the above-mentioned Philadelphia-based newspaper *America*, quite preposterously puts the blame for the massive extermination of Jews in Ukraine not on the Nazis and their henchmen but on the Jews themselves. The anti-Semite puts forward this claim to prove, before anything else, that there is no reason to speak of the Jews in the territories then occupied by the Nazis as being the victims of genocide, thus trying to find a pretext for stopping the investigation of crimes committed by Nazi accomplices.

The nationalist war criminals are now seized with fear. It is this fear that intensified the reviling of the U.S. Jewish population in nationalist publications after the release of the widely acclaimed film *Holocaust*. The film was branded by the nationalists, the last of the routed Bandera-Melnyk bands, as "provocation," "sacrilege," etc.

War criminals must be exposed and put on trial in the name of justice. It is unjust, immoral, inhumane, and criminal to apply the principles of humanity to those who killed innocent people — not on the battle field! — who machine-gunned women and children, who burned down peaceful dwellings. Those former Nazis and their servile collaborators who robbed and sent young people, women and children to work as slaves, and who committed other horrible crimes, must be punished. It must be done for the sake of generations to come. The Nazis made the extermination of nations and ethnic groups (among them Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Tartars to name a few) part of their state policy. It was not just a nightmare on paper. The total number of civilians (prisoners-of-war being a separate count)

from the countries occupied by Germany and its satellites, massacred in Nazi death camps, killed in forests and ravines, and exterminated in gas chambers, amounted to the horrifying figure of 12 million. Only through punishment of those responsible for these atrocities will it be possible to prove the effectiveness of international law and to prevent repetition of genocidal practices in future.

During a visit to the city of Kiev, Holocaust Commission chairman, Eliah Wisel, said that for the sake of those Russians, French, Jews, Norwegians, Danes and others who died at the hands of the Nazis, new steps should be taken to keep their names from being forgotten. If the past was preserved in the people's memory then Americans, Russians and other nations of the world would be able to save future generations from the horrors of war. Frank Lautenberg, chairman of the board of directors of the U.S. ADP company, and one of the members of the Holocaust Commission, told a Soviet correspondent that it did not matter whether the criminal was a hundred years old or older, all criminals, regardless of age, must be put on trial, must be brought to account for their crimes.

The Ukrainian people, active participants in the struggle against Nazi enslavers, demand that surviving war criminals be punished (for the Ukrainian people lost millions of lives in the heroic struggle against the Nazis). Progressive-minded Americans of Ukrainian descent fought the Nazis as soldiers in the U.S. armed forces, and gave what they could to help the Red Army and the Soviet Union which bore the brunt of war with the Nazi Germany. They join in the demand to punish the former Nazis and their collaborators.

War Criminals against Memories

The *New York Times* issue of August 8, 1979 informed readers about the agreement reached between the U. S. Attorney General and the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR about the cooperation of American and Soviet lawyers in providing documents and other evidence for legalizing the deportation of those who were guilty of criminal collaboration with the Nazis.

This information carried by the *New York Times* frightened the former Nazis and their likes into frantic activity. The Ukrainian nationalists, and especially OUN members, those who joined the Nazis in committing crimes in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Poland also became concerned.

The nationalist publication *Svoboda* (Freedom) wrote that "the Ukrainian community (or rather the collaborators and their followers today — Ye. Sh.) were alarmed by this information."

At one of the sittings of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America great concern for their own welfare was expressed.

Svoboda carried bitter remarks of the frightened and enraged former collaborators, addressed to the U.S. Department of Justice, and in particular to its then head B. Civiletty, and to other supporters of the necessity to punish war criminals. In comment to an article published in the *New York Times*, the nationalist *Svoboda* lamented, "Had the American political atmosphere not been so polluted with Russophile and coexistence fumes, such a statement by a representative of the Administration (i. e. concerning the agreement reached between B. Civiletty and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Court Smirnov — Ye. Sh.) would have caused a universal outcry of protests and demands to fire the person who compromised the government." The same

paper also slanderously accused Representative E. Holtsman of being "an informer," the accusation prompted by demands of the Government to call to account those who planned and carried out the Nazi policy of genocide in the occupied territories.

The weekly Banderite newspaper published in Canada, *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of Ukraine), reacted even more sharply. The newspaper, which has former Nazi henchmen on its staff, was very much against the decision made by the U.S. Department of Justice to use documentary materials to expose OUN crimes. And it had a good reason, because the criminals know only too well that it is at these places where they committed their crimes that the bulk of undeniable proof is to be found. That is why the editor-in-chief of *Homin Ukrainy* is making so much noise, and imploring the American legal body to refuse to accept "Soviet evidence" and "not to search the so-called war criminals with the aim of deporting them." That is why he considers the sentencing of a few executioners and murderers only an attempt to "besmirch" the OUN members, as if one could besmirch collaborators of military organizations of Nazi Germany who are smeared with blood of their innocent victims in Ukraine any further!

Concerned nationalist leaders have never stopped reviling the Jewish community in the USA even though they have managed to put their protégé into the Holocaust Commission. Using the upsurge of anti-Sovietism in the late 1970s that created the atmosphere in which the extreme-right in general, and former collaborators in particular, thrived, the nationalist leaders turned to the then U.S. President Jimmy Carter with the request to appoint a "Ukrainian" to the Commission. The hawks from the White House and the Congress, blinded as they were with anti-communism, allowed Yulian Kulas,

a member of the OUN extreme-right wing, with its anti-Semitic, fascist, Bandera leanings, to join the Commission whose aim is to bring about the just punishment for war criminals. It is the same Kulas, a lieutenant-colonel in the U.S. military intelligence reserve, whose main task is to organize provocations against Soviet citizens who come to the United States.

By this action, the American authorities demonstrated once again their leniency towards war criminals, extreme-right wing terrorists, and those who indulge in anti-Sovietism of whatever kind it may be.

In June of 1977 the leaders of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) announced the formation of the "Fund in Defense of the Good Ukrainian Name" (it was the "good name" of cutthroats from former SS-units, Nazi military police and the like) whose aim was to hire and pay the advocates who would by means fair or foul, defend the OUN war criminals and those who took part in the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis. Evidently the nationalists came up with the idea for a fund when they discovered that there were not too many people who wanted to donate their money to such a disreputable undertaking. They had to change the name of the fund to the "Fund in Legal Defense of Ukrainians" but there was no change in its principles. The same leaders of nationalist organizations stand behind both causes which try to save former Nazi collaborators from just punishment; in other words they are trying to save themselves.

Advocates Heedless of Justice

On December 7, 1979, four lawyers of Ukrainian descent with nationalist leanings (I. Flys, A. Lozinsky, Yu. Stepanenko and I. Shandor) were received by V. Rocklar, head of the special investigation bureau of the Department of Justice. The lawyers sought to protect their confederates in reactionary emigré organizations. According to *Svoboda* the four, "expressed their concern over the fact that Soviets could deprive our organized community of its leaders." By saying this, the right wing paper admitted that the majority of the nationalist ("freedom-to-Ukraine") groups in the USA are headed by former collaborators of Nazi Germany.

The nationalist "envoys", disregarding the professional lawyers' code, wanted the concealment of former membership in the OUN at the time of entry to the United States dropped as a reason for deportation. They seemed indifferent to what American law requires or to the fact that their request was against the interests of the American people.

The four advocates of the war criminals resorted to producing pieces of Nazi "evidence" concerning the activities of the OUN after V. Rocklar's remark that the OUN was on the list of "outlawed organizations" (the list was compiled more than thirty years ago by the International Refugee Organization, IRO).

Each of the four advocates had his own reason (all of the reasons being basically alike) to defend former Nazi collaborators.

I. Flys could not help defending the former Nazi henchmen because the UCCA and the Ukrainian National Association (his conflicts with the present leaders of the UCCA are not about matters of principle, but concern the fight for a bigger share of the pie) of which he is the leader, became nests where former Nazi col-

laborators could concentrate. The decreased membership would immediately result in lower revenues. To find out who the colleagues and subordinates of I. Flys, an American lawyer, were and whose income he greatly depends upon, one can look at some photographs published in the newspaper *Svoboda*, the organ of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA). In these photographs a representative of American law is seen beside war criminals — Ivan Oleksyn, now one of the leaders of a nationalist group, and formerly a murderer from an SS unit, and Stepan Havrysh, one of the founders of the UNA, and formerly the head of the anti-Resistance unit of the Ukrainian-German military police in the region of Lviv. They now feel free to take money from Ukrainian Americans, support the "human rights" movement and "democracy," using in their public utterances the terms popular with their American bosses. But at the time of the war they were licenced murderers of Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles.

A few words about Ascold Lozinsky. The possibility that legal proceedings could be started in the USA to investigate the crimes of OUN members brought him to a debilitating fury, one of the main reasons, of course, being that he himself is a member of such an odious organization as the OUN. He followed in the footsteps of his late father, Yevhen Lozinsky, who came to Lviv in June of 1941 shortly after it had been occupied by the Nazis as their collaborator. In the words of the Munich-based *Shlyakh Peremohy* (The Way to Victory) he was an "honored member" of the terrorist, pro-fascist Ukrainian Military Union and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, a former member of the Bandera group and the head of the U.S.-based "Bandera Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine." *Shlyakh Peremohy*, in the obituary on the death of Ye. Lozinsky, wrote that after he had fled from

Ukraine to Germany he did not stop his anti-Soviet subversive activities. After his arrival in the United States, he got down to "organizing and training personnel for carrying out subversion against the American people for whom OUN members have the same adverse and ill-natured feelings as they have towards the Ukrainian people. In doing this, he evidently used the experience he had gained in the special unit "Nachtigall" (there is more about this Nazi unit below) and in the Ukrainian-German military police in Lviv. During the war Yevhen Lozinsky shot many Soviet nationals of Jewish, Ukrainian, and Polish descent.

Thus, undertaking the defense of OUN members, A. Lozinsky defends the reputation, whatever it may be, of his late father, his deeds as a Nazi collaborator, and defends fascism and its hideous manifestation: genocide. Ascold Lozinsky follows, as has been said, in the footsteps of his late father. He is an active member of Bandera organizations, an adept of terrorist extremism in politics. One episode to illustrate this point: a nationalist group, that included former Nazi collaborators, demonstrated in front of the USSR representation at the UN on September 28, 1977. A clash with police followed and Lozinsky turned out to be among the demonstrators. The lawyer-OUN member, the lawyer-extremist defends himself by defending OUN extremists.

Why did Ivan Shandor, an American lawyer, take it upon himself to defend the criminals? His father, Vincent Shandor, was in the service of the Nazis; he was a member of the puppet "government" created by the Nazis on the territory of the so-called "Carpathian Ukraine" in the years 1938-1939. Ivan Shandor himself kept and continues to keep close links with former Nazis and their collaborators, united in reactionary emigré groupings. Maintaining such contacts is hardly appropriate for a representative of the legal profession.

It is not too difficult to understand why Yu. Stepanenko is so worried either (he is one of the leaders of the Ukrainian-American Society of Lawyers that takes on the defense of former Nazi collaborators, in other words, war criminals). It is his father who is the center of concern. Mykola Stepanenko is on the faculty of the Central Michigan University, but there was time when he was one of the leaders of the so-called Ukrainian National Council among whose leadership one could find people formerly in the service of the Nazis. Mykola Stepanenko was a high official in the puppet government that the Nazis tried to create in the occupied territories of Ukraine.

In the war years he also worked as an associate editor of the Nazi-oriented newspaper *Mirhorodski Visti* (Mirhorod News) whose pages were filled with racist and fascist propaganda. The paper was published in the town of Mirhorod where the Nazi occupiers and their collaborators from the German-Ukrainian military police and special units massacred hundreds of Jews, Ukrainians and Russians. Stepanenko's job was to provide "suitable propaganda" reasons that would, in his opinion, justify the Nazi genocidal practices in the eyes of the local population.

As the Nazis began retreating under the blows dealt them by the Soviet army, the collaborator Stepanenko became even more active in serving the Third Reich in order to earn his place in the crumbling wagon rolling westward. His zeal was appreciated, and in 1943 he was promoted to the rank of deputy chief of the Shishaki local administration in the Poltava Region. In his new role he was very vocal in beseeching the local population not to interfere with the order that the Nazis tried to establish. His efforts were met with contempt and loathing by local Ukrainians but he did earn his ride West. In 1943 he moved in great haste from Ukraine

further West, and continued serving the Nazis in the headquarters of a Nazi propaganda unit. Many years after, his son, a lawyer, made another attempt to save him from punishment.

As far as the claim that Stepanenko did not violate American laws because he did not kill Soviet people is concerned, we must remember that on February 11, 1945 a U.S. official signed, together with a Soviet official, an agreement which stated that all former Soviet citizens who at the time of their capture by American forces were wearing German military uniforms, and deserters from the Soviet Army, who had voluntarily entered into service for the enemy, were to be returned in to Soviet authorities.

In face of all this evidence, Mykola Stepanenko, in accordance with U.S. Government regulations, must be repatriated, in other words, deported from the USA and turned in to Soviet legal authorities. It becomes so clear now why the American lawyer, Yuri Stepanenko, defends Stepanenko Senior's case.

Why is Ya. Padokh, the nationalist "dogooder" from New York City, so worried? It is easy to find the answer if one is acquainted with some details of his biography. It is an established fact for example, that he became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the organization which was so active in collaborating with the Nazis in the early 1930s. His job in the OUN was propaganda chief (his propaganda dealt with anti-Semitism, terrorism and fascism); he began with subversion against Poland. According to reports from the police department in the city of Lviv which are still extant and are kept in the Ternopil archives, Padokh, together with other extremists from the OUN, even then were considered to be "unreliable" persons by Polish authorities. After moving to Cracow in the late 1930s he went to work at the Ukrainian Central Com-

mittee, an organization set up by the Nazis, which was directly linked to war crimes. Padokh regarded activities of the Nazi spy, A. Melnyk, as being exemplary of the way one "should serve one's people." Padokh remained loyal to the Nazis to the very end of the Third Reich. He moved back to Lviv in 1941 shortly after it had been occupied by invading German forces and worked in the Nazi-sponsored Ukrainian Central Committee (incidentally together with Ye. Lozinsky) until the Western parts of Ukraine were liberated by the Soviet Army. He fled from Ukraine with retreating Nazis and then moved to the United States, his ideas and views remaining the same. The Nazi collaborator became very active in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America shortly after his arrival in the USA, and was elected several times to its governing bodies. Padokh, a lawyer, understands that he is liable to prosecution, and naturally enough, in an attempt to avert danger from himself, wants authorities to drop the investigation into the activities of the Nazi war criminals altogether.

As is well known, lawyers, in all the countries of the civilized world, the United States included, must be honest, well-meaning persons with unblemished reputations. This is what is stated in the illustrated magazine *America*, published in the United States in Russian for distribution in the USSR, in one of its issues of 1978 which was dedicated to the American legal profession. But the four American lawyers mentioned above expressly lack these qualities, which in fact becomes so evident even after a brief acquaintance with their activities and with some details of their fathers' biographies. The lawyers' participation in the work of the nationalist organizations alongside with former Nazi collaborators and their contacts with war criminals, make their incompatibility with the institution of justice still more obvious. It is not a question of individual Ukrainian nationalists

being war criminals; criminal are the activities of the entire nationalist group, whose leadership and membership were busy helping spread the Nazi new "order" at the time of the war or were involved in the extermination of innocent people. One such criminal association, as has been so justly pointed out by V. Rocklar, is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN.

OUN in the Service of Nazi Criminals

On the morning of January 30, 1933, the octogenarian President of the German Republic, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, named Adolf Hitler as the new Chancellor. Four weeks later, on February 27, the Nazis staged the burning of the Reichstag, the Parliament building. Using the pretext of subversion, Hitler proclaimed a state of emergency in the country and concentrated practically unlimited power in his hands.

By this time Ukrainian nationalists had already established rather stable and firm links with the Nazis. In its comment on the formation of the OUN, the right wing paper *Dilo* (The Cause), published in Lviv, said in its issue of April 4, 1929, "...as an organization they have become nothing else but a new fascist party." Another paper, *Hromadsky Holos* (The People's Voice), also published in Western Ukraine, called the OUN members "fascists" and "those who are using to their advantage the grievous condition of the working class."

Back in 1923 the future founders and leaders of the OUN (at the time they were members of the group called Ukrainian Military Organization) received financial aid from the German military, totalling 9,000 Reichsmarks. The German special service paid separately for sabotage and subversion, particularly against Poland.

The OUN leaders received news of Hitler's coming

to power with great enthusiasm. The items on the Nazi program they especially liked were flagrant racism and anti-Semitism. The above-mentioned newspaper *Dilo*, in its commentary featured in its April 30, 1933 issue, three months after the Nazi dictatorship had been established, stated: "The Ukrainian fascist groups gain strength in Eastern Galicia (eastern parts of Western Ukraine, then under Polish domination) as well as in other lands, also among Ukrainian emigrés, especially among the young people... Hitler's anti-Semitism inspired the Ukrainian fascists. In the last two weeks Ukrainian fascists attacked Jewish stores in some villages of Eastern Galicia and smashed windowpanes in houses where Jews lived. ...The Ukrainian fascist spirit is backed up, ahead of anything else, by reactionary foreign elements."

There were times when the OUN publications based abroad openly admitted that they were a fascist organization modelling itself on Hitler's Nazis. Nationalists now try to deny this fact. They even attempt to present themselves — with no grounds however — as being originally opposed to fascism, and convince American politicians and influential personalities of their innocence. Their main concern is to deny their participation in the Nazi-inspired massacres in occupied territories, shooting down thousands upon thousands of people of Jewish descent.

But as they say, truth will come out, and even at present, nationalist publications allow from time to time some facts, confessions or revelations to slip onto their pages and they amply demonstrate the futility of all the attemps to conceal the OUN collaboration with Nazi Germany, though these confessions and revelations are meant, of course, to whitewash the authors themselves.

An example of one such revelation of an OUN member is M. Styranka, an OUN journalist, and one of the

Melnykite "mouthpieces," who recently admitted in the Detroit-based *Samostiyna Ukraina* (Independent Ukraine) magazine that as far back as 1929 through 1939, "the influence of fascist and national-socialist ideas then popular" left a clear mark on the activity of the OUN at the time. He goes on to say that the OUN congress of 1939 "was organized primarily by the second generation Ukrainian nationalist movement (Stetsko, Baranovsky, Olzhych) which was partially influenced and inspired by Dontsov, and partially by the success of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany."

The program of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has borrowed heavily from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Below are two of the numerous clauses from the document, to illustrate this point: "7. The Leader of the Nation shall be at the head of the State. He shall embody in himself the sovereignty and unity of the nation... govern the State. 12. The functioning of any political organization shall be outlawed. The only political organization of the population shall be the OUN."

In view of all this, what right do representatives of American imperialism have to speak of their "devotion to democracy," and "human rights" when they use, for their purposes, the apologists of such a nightmarish ideology, supporting them, backing up their subversive activities, and financing them?

Hitler was not the only idol of OUN members. The fascist dictator of Italy, Mussolini, was another one. P. Mirchuk, in his book *An Outline of History of the OUN*, published in Munich in 1968, writes that the OUN leadership very highly praised "the state of things and new order" that had been established in Italy by Mussolini. "No wonder, that ...Italian fascism, being an anti-communist movement, evokes sympathies among Ukrainian nationalists," says the author.

The OUN leadership regarded as a great success the formation, in 1936-1937, of the aggressive, antidemocratic "Axis" coalition comprising Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and imperial-fascist Japan. Japan, as is well known, concentrated its war effort against the United States whose special service was later quick to accept the former Nazi collaborators from the OUN. Ya. Stetsko, the current leader of the OUN who maintains contacts with some of the U.S. Congressmen, writes in his book *The 30th of June, 1941* that, "the Ukrainian (nationalist — Ye. Sh.) activities concentrated, primarily, in Central Europe, and to some extent in Italy; links with Japan were also established, and the USA was regarded as a place suitable for expanding the activities of our emigrés." In other words, the United States was regarded by him as a place for carrying out subversion against the U.S. for the Nazis but miraculously, at present he has been made an "honorary citizen" of a U.S. county. The *Washington Post* published an interview with him in which everything was done to whitewash the OUN collaboration with the Nazis during WWII. U.S. President Ronald Reagan went even further when he sent greetings to reactionary nationalists on the occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation in the city of Lviv of the puppet "Ukrainian State" on June 30, 1941. One thing is very clearly established from the above facts despite their seeming disconnectedness — the current American administration has adopted an openly lenient stand towards the OUN Nazi collaborators.

Strange as it may seem but the anti-American activities of the OUN members in the past are purposefully overlooked as well as their current animosity towards the American working classes. It is their flagrant anticommunism and hatred towards the Soviet people that are taken into consideration.

The nationalists have always regarded, despite all of their declarations about "loyalty," the USA as a "foreign and unfriendly" land, a place to "carry out their activities" and nothing more. This is their present attitude. They treated Ukraine in a similar fashion when they served the Nazis in the occupied territories, obsequiously fulfilling all the tasks given them by the Nazis. Collaboration with the Nazis was the apogee in the treacherous and murderous activities of the OUN leadership. At the very beginning of the Second World War they announced in unequivocal terms their readiness to join fighting on the side of the Third Reich, siding up with Hitler.

The war began on September 1, 1939, with the German invasion into Poland. OUN members were among the first Nazi units whose task was to provoke the war; OUN members were to be found in the invading force as well. P. Mirchuk, mentioned above, has the following to say about the role of the OUN members in the Nazi invasion of Poland: "The group of armed OUN storm troopers, headed by Prof. Lev Shankovsky, who was a specialist in military affairs (Shankovsky, now deceased, who until recently lived in Philadelphia, was one of the editors of the extreme right Bandera-faction newspaper *America* — Ye. Sh.) surrounded and disarmed 500 Polish soldiers... The OUN military units clashed with Polish police and retreating Polish troops in almost every district in September of 1939."

The above quotation leaves no doubt as to which side the OUN joined at the beginning of the war: it was with the Nazis from beginning to end.

The Nazis ordered and controlled the actions of the OUN. German General, E. Lahousen, testifying at the Nuremberg trial, said that Admiral Kanaris had been ordered by the chief of the Supreme Command Headquarters Keitel as far back as 1939 to create special

units drafted from Ukrainian nationalists in Western Ukraine to exterminate Jews and Poles. Thus, even at the early stages of the war, the Nazis planned to use the OUN in realization of their unprecedented genocidal policy.

OUN members got down to business in fulfilling maniacal plans of the insane Führer with great ardor.

To train the nationalists in the shortest time possible in order to fulfill Nazi plans, the Nazis set up the Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) in Cracow in May of 1940. It was headed by V. Kubiyovich, collaborator and advisor to the Nazi ideologist, Rosenberg. The UCC, as all other nationalist organizations, was subordinate to the Nazi Governor General, the National-Socialist Party, and to the Nazi special service. Colonel Bisanz, the Nazi special agent who supervised the activities of the UCC, reported that the secret service and Gestapo very actively used, for their purposes, not only the central but also local branches of the UCC. In fact, this organization of traitors became a subsidiary of the German secret service and Gestapo for carrying out special tasks in the occupied territory of Ukraine, drafting young Ukrainians for work in Germany being one of the tasks. The OUN members got the leading positions in the UCC.

The Nazis, their High Command and General Staff of the Armed Forces, along with military intelligence, leadership of the Nazi Party, Gestapo (state secret police), SS (Schutzstaffel — the elite military and police units of the Nazi Party), SD (SS security service) and other organizations of Nazi Germany, later condemned as criminal, used for their purposes the OUN, UCC and other nationalist organizations from the very first days of the war.

H. Frank, Governor General of Polish Territory, issued an order (in December of 1939) for the OUN to join in the formation of the Ukrainian auxiliary police

force that was subordinate to the SS command. There was a special police training school in the Polish town of Zakopane. The pro-fascist nationalist newspaper *Lviv News* wrote that "the Ukrainian police is a full-fledged police department of the German police."

Being in the service of the SS, the nationalist traitors in the Ukrainian police provided guards for concentration camps and for transporting prisoners from one place to another, as well as participated in tortures and executions. The OUN members of the police force took part in extermination of people in death camps at Treblinka, Auschwitz, Travnik, Belzec, in the Jewish ghettoes of the Volyn and Galicia areas, and it is not accidental that the current OUN leadership is so active in denying the fact that the OUN leaders in the past were the initiators of the establishment of the German-Ukrainian police, and provided people to man it. Posing innocent, the OUN members, former executioners, try hard to rid themselves of at least part of the blame for the war crimes. But all such attempts are doomed to failure because the facts are against the OUN Nazi collaborators.

The Nazis began including Ukrainian nationalists into special units of the Nazi armed forces from the first days of their occupation of Poland, and later of Ukraine. Their main task was to exterminate Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews. As early as the winter of 1940—1941 OUN special military detachments were formed as part of the "Brandenburg" units of the Nazi armed forces, receiving the names "Nachtigall" and "Roland" (the "Nachtigall" legion was made up mostly of Bandera cutthroats and formed into a military unit of the German Army in the town of Neumacher under the command of Ober-leutnant D. Herzner, with Ober-leutnant T. Oberländer being the political leader; the "Roland"

legion which united nationalistic bandits of all kinds was formed in the vicinity of Vienna).

V. Cherednichenko in his book *The Anatomy of Treason* describes the arrival of a special unit from the "Nachtigall" in Lviv (the description was from a work by West German historian, W. Brokdorf): "The German soldiers who were waiting for the order to start the advance operation, were horrified by the look of the Ukrainians from the special unit and hastily made way for them. The 'Nachtigall' men had knives between their teeth, rolled up the sleeves of their shirts, holding their rifles ready. They looked horrifying when they flung themselves into attack on the city at 23.00 hours, June 29, 1941... In a frenzy, howling, foaming at the mouth, their eyes popping out of their heads, the Ukrainian nationalists swept through the streets of Lviv... subjecting everyone in their way to cruel death."

According to V. Cherednichenko, in the slaughter that lasted for a week, about 500 people were massacred, most of them intellectuals.

The "Nachtigall" men acted in a similar manner in Zolochiv, Sataniv, Ternopil, Yuzvin, Vinnitsya, and Mikhalpol...

Early in the war other special military units were formed in addition to the above-mentioned. For instance, in Warsaw the Nazis formed a "legion" of Ukrainian nationalists with the self-proclaimed colonel Bilohub at its head; units formed in Lüchenwald were commanded by Barabash.

The Nazi secret service sponsored the creation of "mobile groups" of the OUN in the spring of 1941 with the task of establishing auxiliary administrative bodies in occupied territories. As the OUN "mobile groups," armed with German weapons, moved through the occupied territory of Ukraine, they imitated the Nazis in the

methods of terror, tortures, and brutal oppression. In many instances they outdid the Nazis.

In view of the fact that U.S. President Ronald Reagan sent greetings to former Nazi collaborators on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the "Declaration of the 30th of June," it may be fitting to remind the reader what kind of "declaration" it was. Shortly after the Nazis captured Lviv, the OUN moved there too (incidentally, Ye. Lozinsky and Ya. Padokh were among those who arrived in Lviv at that time) and published the "Declaration of the Independent Conciliar Ukrainian State" on June 30, 1941. Up to this day the OUN is still obsessed with the idea that Ukraine was indeed independent and conciliar then. (As a matter of fact, it was the Nazis who created the puppet nationalist government, and put Ya. Stetsko, one of the OUN leaders and a Nazi agent, into the chair of the Prime Minister; it was done at a time when the Ukrainian people were mounting a growing resistance to the invaders. What kind of independence it was may be deduced from the fact that the publication of the proclamation coincided with the massacre perpetrated in the city of Lviv by the Nazis and their OUN toadies from the "Nachtigall" special detachments. As far as the Declaration itself is concerned, it was received by Nazi agents in the OUN at an apartment where secret meetings of the German intelligence agents were held, in the city of Cracow at night on June 14, 1941, that is, eight days before Nazi invasion into the USSR had begun. The Declaration was premeditated by the German intelligence service.

The text of the Declaration itself unequivocally demonstrates the puppet character and fascist core of the Stetsko government. It comprised, in part, the following paragraph which is often quoted nowadays by the nationalist press: "The Organization of nationalists un-

der the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the creation of the Ukrainian State... The newly molded Ukrainian state shall have close cooperation with the National-Socialist Great Germany which, under the leadership of her Führer Adolf Hitler, is bringing a new order to Europe and to the world..." "The Ukrainian national revolutionary army that is being established on the Ukrainian soil (of course the above-mentioned "Nachtigall" and "Roland" legions and some other units of the same sort are meant — Ye. Sh.) is to fight alongside the allied German army" (the quotation is taken from the OUN newspaper *Buchatsky Visti* of July 27, 1941).

It should be remembered that one of the drafts of the "Declaration" held implicitly an even clearer self-definition of its creators: "Glory to the heroic German Army and its Führer Adolf Hitler!" (taken from the *Zhovkivsky Visti* of July 10, 1941; the paper was published in the occupied territory and edited by the nationalists).

Ya. Stetsko in his autobiography, written at the request of the German military command, and later discovered in the archives of Rosenberg, says that, "I regard Moscow and the Jewry as the principle and decisive enemy and I am all for the extermination of Jews; that is why I consider it necessary to use the German extermination methods in Ukraine."

Wouldn't it be better for democracy if American legislators who received Stetsko in 1981, had asked him a few questions about his services rendered to the Nazis, about massacres perpetrated by the OUN in Lviv and other towns of Ukraine, instead of giving out promises to "dismember" the Soviet Union? And, in the end, wouldn't it be better for democracy if they had sanctioned the arrest of this war criminal? But the cur-

rent U.S. government appears very unlikely to do anything of the kind.

In addition to Stetsko's "government" (which, incidentally, was disbanded by the Nazis for tactical reasons), the Nazis made use of another auxiliary governing body in the occupied territory of Ukraine which was called the "Ukrainian National Council"; its program, detailed in the OUN letter to Rosenberg, set out the plans to "work" together with the German authorities in establishing a new order in Ukraine," in other words the Nazis' "Neue Ordnung."

The Nazis in occupied Ukraine were also assisted by the *"Poliska Sich"* (Militants from Polissya) which was headed by the Nazi agent Borovets, and in which Oleh Shtul represented the Melnyk OUN leadership (he was one of the "Sich" leaders after the war).

The Nazis used the "Sich" to organize and carry out punitive operations against the local population which was not subdued by the invaders. Members of the "Sich" combed the forests in search of fugitives, and Soviet army men fighting their way from the encirclement; when found, they were mercilessly killed along with many innocent civilians, among them Ukrainians, Jews and Poles. Civilians were slaughtered for no apparent reason, except one: the "Sich" members did their best to be of service to the Nazis. For instance, members of the "Sich," some of whom now live in the USA, led by Hauptsturmführer Hitchke massacred 535 Soviet citizens, most of whom were of Jewish descent, in the town of Olevsk on October 10, 1941.

All the nationalist military formations set up by the Nazis with no exception served the Nazis until the very end of the Reich. The "Sich" did the same. An absolutely secret "Plan of actions to fight the Bolshevik partisans, concentrated in the Polissya lowland within the boundaries of the geographical line from Bereste

to Minsk to Homel through Zhitomir," was worked out and signed by Taras Bulba-Borovets, the "Sich" leader, on March 15, 1943. The Plan laid out "the main directions of the action to liquidate the Soviet partisans" who, at that time, fought hard battles against the Nazis, destroyed German trains carrying troops and supplies, blew up bridges and did damage to enemy communication networks.

The following is a quotation from the Plan: "1. The action is to be carried out by Ukrainian partisans (i. e. 'Sich' members — Ye. Sh.) under my personal command on the tacit understanding reached with the German authorities... 2. The German authorities are officially at war with both these (Ukrainian 'Sich') and those (Soviet) partisans, but in fact they support Ukrainian partisans and provide them secretly with arms... 4. On the agreement with the German authorities the Ukrainian partisans gain control of some local centers to establish their hospitals there, to set up supply bases etc. The action is spread all over the Polissya lowland. 5. In case the front on the line from Odessa through Kiev through Vitebsk through Riga shortens due to gaps, the Ukrainian partisans provide the defense of the Polissya lowland to keep the front line there. 6. In case the Red army moves further west, the Ukrainian partisans stay put to carry out sabotage behind Bolshevik lines with direct cooperation from the German army."

(signed by Taras Bulba-Borovets)

In the summer of 1942, the Nazis formed a unit directly subordinate to the German command from Ukrainian nationalists, and appointed I. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko as the commander of the unit which was used by the Nazis for punitive operations against the population of the occupied territory.

Almost at the same time a special punitive battalion which later became notorious for its exceptional cruelty,

was formed with personnel drafted from the "Nachtigall" and "Roland" legions to fight resistance to the invaders among the local population; under the name of "Schuzmanschaft-201" it was included in the SS corps commanded by von dem Bach-Zelewski.

The punitive group "SD-31" was manned mostly by the OUN members with the Nazis supplying arms and uniforms. It was under the command of Mikhailo Soltis, one of the most active OUN anti-Semites, who advocated complete annihilation of Jews. Among the victims of this group were hundreds of Jews (many of them from the ghetto in Lutsk), Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians.

All these facts show that both at the initial stages of the war and later, the Nazis used, in the main, Ukrainian nationalists to terrorize the population in the occupied territories, to carry out punitive raids in towns and villages, to shoot down captured Soviet patriots, to exterminate Jews etc.

But as the offensive of the Soviet army was gaining momentum, the resistance to the invaders was becoming stronger with virtually all the population involved in it, and as the Nazi forces were waning, the Nazis began allowing Ukrainian nationalists to have an ever-growing part in fighting the resistance movement. It was decided, under new conditions, to form the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (UPA) drafted mostly from OUN members.

The UPA's job was not only to suppress the resistance movement, to destroy villages by fire, to rob, hang and kill, but to put sentries along the roads through which the Nazis moved their materiel, and to engage in military operations in the strict sense of the word. The Nazis provided the UPA with all the necessary supplies since it served them well.

The bandits from the UPA were direct participants in the Nazi genocidal practices in Western Ukraine. In the Volyn area alone they killed 15,000 people of Polish

descent in May of 1943. Between December, 1943 and May of 1944 they killed 6,000 more Poles, and according to Polish sources, the total number of Poles killed by the OUN during the Second World War was about 40,000.

The UPA bands, armed to their teeth and left by the Nazis in the rear of the advancing Soviet army, carried out sabotage and terrorized the local population which had welcomed their liberation by Soviet troops. Erwin Stolze, the German secret agent, who, on orders from his superiors in the secret service, supervised the OUN operations plotting the course that was most desirable for the Nazis at a given moment, has the following to say in his memoires: "At the time of the German forces' retreat from Ukraine, Kanaris personally gave instructions through the German secret service to set up underground bands for continuing the struggle against the Soviet power in Ukraine, carrying out terrorism, sabotage and spying. To direct the activities of the nationalist movement, secret agents of various ranks were left behind in the formerly occupied territories. Ammunition depots and food supply stores were to be set up. Special agents who were to establish connections with the bands, infiltrated through the front line or were dropped by parachutes; ammunition and weapons were supplied as well."

Lieutenant Colonel Linthardt, the commander of the Abwehrkommando-101, was even more precise in describing the role of the Nazis assigned to the UPA bands. At the conference held at the headquarters of the chief of police and secret security service for the area of Galicia on May 19, 1944, he said that without the UPA the work of the secret service would have been impossible since the UPA had been extremely valuable in providing the type of information that the secret service relied upon.

R. Shukhevych, formerly lieutenant for the Nazi commander of the "Nachtigall" legion, one of the organizers of the notorious "auxiliary police" in the area of Volyn, a Nazi spy, terrorist and war criminal, was in command of the UPA.

But with all that, the apogee of the OUN servility was reached only with the creation of the SS division manned by local nationalists from the occupied territories. Hitler gave his approval of the establishment of the new division because of the deteriorating situation the German armies found themselves in at the Eastern front. The formation of the division was preceded by an infamous letter from the leadership of the OUN to Hitler, signed by one of the OUN leaders, Andriy Melnyk. The letter said in part: "Our governing circles have always been convinced that the blow delivered by the National-Socialist Germany under the guidance of Your Excellency may be lethal to Bolshevism..." The traitors suggested to the Führer, whom they idolized, some measures aimed at crushing the growing resistance movement in occupied territories and implored to "let us, sir, do it ourselves... We assure you, Your Excellency, that the governing circles in Ukraine (just to imagine that it was said at the time when millions of Ukrainians were fighting the Nazis on all fronts! — Ye. Sh.) are all out for having the closest possible cooperation with Germany in order to successfully end the struggle against the enemy in a joint effort, and to bring the new order to Ukraine and all of Eastern Europe."

No wonder permission to form a new SS division was immediately granted. The business of forming the division was entrusted to a group of military officials headed by Colonel A. Bisanz, and Himmler himself wanted to be kept up to date in this matter. The division was organized and armed, with the above-men-

tioned "Ukrainian Central Committee," headed by Kubiyovych, taking an active part in it alongside the German military authority. The job was supervised and controlled by a group of SS officers and soldiers. The Uniate Church played its role of treachery to the people also taking part in the formation of the division.

Initially, the new SS unit was called "the 14th Infantry Division of the SS Troops 'Galizien'," but later Himmler ordered to drop the latter part and it was called "the 14th SS Infantry Division." One cannot help concluding that everything was done on the orders from the German High Command; only cannon-fodder was Ukrainian and it was supplied by the OUN leadership, with recruits, drafted from the brainwashed population and those frightened into submission in western parts of Ukraine.

The 14th SS division was almost completely destroyed by Soviet troops. Whatever was left of it was reinforced with nationalists who had fled from the areas of Ukraine liberated by the Soviet army, and took part in suppressing the Slovak National Uprising. Later, together with other Nazi units, one of the detachments of the division was moved to Warsaw to crush the uprising there. Some of the servicemen of the 14th SS division joined the punitive groups to fight against the Yugoslavian National Liberation Army.

In other words, after the rout they had suffered at the hands of the Soviet army, the Nazi-minded nationalists returned to the activities they found natural: punitive operations, especially against the civil population.

Up to the very last days of the Third Reich, the nationalists believed that the "change" on the fronts to Hitler's favor was still possible, entertaining hopes that the Allied Forces would have to retreat, that providence would save Germany.

M. Matviyeyko, a former member of the leadership of the Bandera faction of the OUN, had the following to say on the subject: "I confirm that Bandera, Stetsko, Hrynyokh, Volodymir Stakhiv, Yuri Lopatynsky, Osyp Waskovych and Tyushka did in fact cooperate with the German secret service until the very last dying throes of the Third Reich. Do you remember, gentlemen, you 'Chairman' Stetsko, you 'Minister' Stakhiv, you 'Vice-President' Hrynyokh how at the time when Doctor Goebbels had already taken poison you went in the cars of the German secret service, accompanied by Doctor Völl, representative of the secret service, and his assistants, to the Bavarian Forest, to head the anti-Soviet Department of the German partisan group 'Werewolf'? If you forgot, Mr. Stetsko, I will remind you that it was I, Myron Matviyeyko, who dressed and bandaged your wounds that you had received when the cars we were travelling in were shot at by aircraft of your current American friends."

Some U.S. Congressmen would surely be very much interested to learn that they hold in "high esteem" the former Nazi collaborator Stetsko, who, incidentally, was wounded by an American explosive bullet. An American pilot might have been risking his life when he attacked the convoy of cars with the Nazis and their OUN collaborators, the very people U.S. Congressmen now keep contacts with. The U.S. Congressmen involved should surely be advised to do some serious thinking.

What has been said about the hideous collaboration of the OUN and other nationalist groups with the Nazis, and their participation in the massacre of civilians, genocide against Jews, Poles, Ukrainians and other ethnics living in Ukraine does not exhaust the list of nationalist crimes against humanity.

OUN Members — War Criminals. No Denial

War criminals must be punished in the name of human justice. This must be done for the sake of the millions who perished during the Second World War. This must be done in memory of those who were tortured to death, annihilated by fire and gas in Nazi death camps. Finally, it must be done in accordance with agreements reached by the Allied Nations: the Moscow Declaration on Responsibility of Nazis for Their Atrocities (of June 30, 1943); the London Agreement (of August 8, 1945); the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Law No. 10 of the Allied Control Council for Germany. The UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution on "Extradition and Punishment of War Criminals" on February 13, 1946. The resolution advised UN member countries to take all necessary steps at once so that war criminals who are responsible for the above crimes, or directly took part in committing them, be arrested and sent to those countries where they have committed them, and put on trial, and sentenced in accordance with the laws of the respective countries.

Article 6 of the Nuremberg Trial Charter, adopted jointly by the Allies, defines who is considered to be a war criminal and what constitutes a war crime: violation of rules and conduct of war; the killing of an unarmed person; killing or maltreatment of prisoners of war; unmotivated destruction of towns and villages; cruelty to people and so on.

Ukrainian nationalists were actually involved in committing many of these crimes. In addition, they did it in a most brutal manner with no regard for human dignity.

One wants to believe that the time of a just trial will come for these OUN members, these war criminals who took part in the "holocaust" but who are still free

to live as they please in the USA, with no great threat to their future. Legal prosecution of these people is not only in line with international agreements, but also with the U.S. internal penal code.

One can have, for instance, his U.S. citizenship abrogated in accordance with the law adopted by the U.S. Congress in 1952. The law deals with those offences which can result in abrogation proceedings, among them, the oath of allegiance given to a foreign country (the nationalists have given such an oath to Nazi Germany, and, in the words of the U.S.-based nationalist magazine *Samostiyna Ukraina* (Independent Ukraine), this OUN "oath to Hitler" has not been revoked); serving as a civil servant in a hostile country (the USA was at war with Nazi Germany, and OUN members were in the Nazi service); and serving in the armed forces of foreign countries. Quite a few facts concerning the nationalists' service in the Nazi armed forces have been mentioned but they are only an insignificant fraction of the evidence concerning the service of the nationalists in the Nazi army. Another reason for deportation or denaturalization is plotting, or taking part in an armed revolt, with the aim of overthrowing the U.S. government. There are a number of documents in the U.S. Congress archives, dating back to the 1930s from which it is clear that some of the Ukrainian nationalists who lived in the USA in the pre-war years were in fact the Nazis' "fifth column" in America and planned establishing a fascist dictatorship there.

In addition, American rules regarding war conduct (adopted in 1944) state that persons or organizations that violate the universally accepted rules of warfare must be prosecuted.

A. Kahn, a well-known American publicist, in his book *High Treason: The Plot Against the People* (N.Y., 1950) called the war criminals who had found refuge in the

USA "dangerous Americans." Among more than 700 fascist organizations which, according to the author, existed in the USA before the war, and acted on orders from Berlin, he names the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organization "Hetman" (at present it is known as the "Ukrainian Hetman Organization of America") and the Organization of Statehood Rebirth of Ukraine which now constitutes one of the main groups of the U.S.-based OUN.

This is why Ukrainian nationalists are so much afraid of investigations into their past, and why they were so enraged by the information published by the *New York Times* on August 8, 1980.

Unfortunately, the American legal system only very rarely metes out just punishment to Nazi war criminals and their nationalist collaborators who in the Second World War were on the side of Nazi Germany; we must remember here that the fighting with the Nazis took several hundred thousands of American lives.

GHOSTS OF FASCISM IN HOTEL AMERICANA

"A great success is guaranteed," "Extensive and thorough preparations for the Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU-III) guarantee that existing chaos in the nationalist community will be done away with..."

1978 saw a lot of similar statements in nationalist publications in Western countries with Ukrainian communities. As the first day of the Congress drew near the number of "optimistic" forecasts sharply grew. The main hopes were lodged mostly in the further growth of support from the U.S. secret service which was the behind-the-scenes organizer of the WCFU-III.

Incidentally, a few days before the Congress opened, one of the nationalistic publications with undisguised sarcasm, quite rightly advocated for removing the word "free" from the name of the WCFU since there were few "free Ukrainians" (i. e. those who share the views of the Ukrainian nationalists) among the million or so Ukrainians living outside Ukraine in foreign countries. One could add that the WCFU was created as a puppet to be set into motion by the strings controlled by the U.S. secret service. It is only ironically that one can speak of the Congress as uniting "free Ukrainians," and it is with irony that the WCFU is referred to by an increasing number of Ukrainians living abroad.

To find out who in fact attended the WCFU-III at the New York Hotel Americana behind the mask of "free Ukrainians," we will have to turn to some facts that have been picked out mostly from nationalist sources, the right-wing OUN press including.

Let us begin with *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of Ukraine), published by the extreme right wing of Ukrainian Canadians, which reported the speech made at the WCFU-III by the leader of one of the nationalist youth organizations. The leader claimed, "there are fascists among the delegates." Besides, the paper goes on to say, some other delegates, "unequivocally pointed to" former participants of Nazi military units, namely the SS men from the notorious division "Halychyna," bandits from the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army," "Nachtigall" and "Roland" legions, murderers from the German-Ukrainian police. It is they, in the opinion of Ivan Oleksyn, who were "the best example" of leaders for nationalist organizations. It is they, Oleksyn says, "who kept our lives going at a proper level," and after they have joined the majority, "it is getting increasingly more difficult" to conduct nationalist activities.

A question arises: did the mention of "fascists" being

present at the Congress cause a storm of protests? Quite the contrary. Most delegates were very proud of having been thus referred to; they felt they had been given an appropriate name. Some delegates said that being called "fascists" was "a great honor."

After the WCFU-III ended, the *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway), published in Canada, revealed that one of the main aims of the Congress was to spread among "individuals all the activities of the émigrés' communal life." In simpler terms, the idea was to raise the smoke screen over the activities of this reactionary organization that was usually made up of words about its "communal" character. The ultimate task was to make the WCFU absolutely subordinate to the OUN, and turn it into a grouping of anti-Soviet politicians who would be also dependable upon secret services of the USA and other countries. In other words, what the WCFU was and did from its very first days were publicly reiterated.

I. Kedrin, one of the nationalist leaders, called public exposure of the WCFU organizers and current leadership, which revealed their collaboration with the Nazis, "the best advertisement for the WCFU!" Very laudable frankness, one should say.

Not all of the several hundred participants of the WCFU-III were ready to admit their fascist and neo-fascist leanings. Some of them use every suitable occasion to proclaim their "leftist orientation," "democratic mindedness," and "devotion to the principles of humanity." These self-styled democrats insist that only the Bandera and Melnyk factions of the OUN could be called extreme right with some degree of justice.

To see how things really are, let us turn to quotations characterizing such "anti-OUN" minded people, picked from the above-mentioned *Homin Ukrainy*, whose publishers have absolutely no intention whatever to deny their

pro-fascist stance. The article "Impressions of the Congress" said in part: "It looks rather ludicrous when the representatives of the former extreme right wing call themselves 'leftists'." The newspaper couldn't help being ironic when speaking about the "anti-fascist" disguise of these "leftists": "It is very strange to hear recent collaborators calling others 'fascists'."

Another category of nationalist leaders includes those who are directly involved with the Western secret services. Some of them, like for example, Leo Dobrianski, the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the main organization within the WCFU, are not formally members of the "political" nationalist organizations of the OUN type. They share Bandera-inspired ideas, and are as the case is with Dobrianski, members of the U.S. extreme right pro-fascist organizations. Dobrianski was included in the leadership of the John Birch Society; he had working contacts with such a notorious grouping as the Liberty Lobby and other extreme right U.S. organizations. The *Ukrainsky Samostiynyk* (Ukrainian Independent) magazine, describing the organizations of which Dobrianski is a member, wrote that "they usually adhere to the tactics of dealing with communism which were, by the way, practiced by Hitler. It is the tactics of the frontal attack, or in other words, the one employed by an enraged bull that, blinded by rage, attacks anything red," and the article went on to say: "Dobrianski has launched the WCFU into orbit dominated by right-wing extremist groups."

The election to the governing body of the WCFU-III was held in an atmosphere reminiscent of the Nazi days. Pretenders to the snug places close to the nationalist pie (in ninety percent of the cases members of the Bandera and Melnyk factions of the OUN) were ready to cut each other's throats at the time of "behind-the-scenes negotiations" and "settling deals," later wrote one of

the "pretenders" M. Styranka, a hard-core nationalist. According to A. Pytlyar, to bring some order into the "election process," "a sort of a riot police group, made up of former 'Division' servicemen (i. e. former servicemen of the "Halychyna" SS division, splattered with the blood of innocent people — Ye. Sh.) had to be set up." With the same purpose in mind, the U.S. secret service sent lieutenant colonel of the U.S. Army intelligence reserve Yu. Kulas to control the sessions of the WCFU.

In spite of the considerable experience of punitive raids possessed by the former SS men, and the secret service work experience of Yu. Kulas, there was a "danger," as some of the nationalist publications admitted later, of the situation that had sprung up at the WCFU-II (held in Toronto) when only timely intervening action of priests had saved the congress from failure, repeating itself. "In the discussions, remarks and even applause could be frequently heard, and the sharp political polarization and animosity could be discerned," wrote *Homin Ukrainy*, commenting on the events at the WCFU-III. In another issue the paper said: "The truth is that not everything was all right at the WCFU-III; there were some provocative attacks on nationalist unity, some not very becoming utterances made by leading church and secular officials."

All attempts to come to an agreement in the fight for the "presidency" of the WCFU between Bandera and Melnyk factions failed in the end. The Bandera faction "could not accept the idea that the post of the president for the next five years would be held by a Canadian, who is, besides, a representative of the other party (i. e. from the Melnyk faction of the OUN — Ye. Sh.) which is considered by the 'super-patriots' to be the enemy." The Melnyk faction refused to accept the supremacy of the Bandera faction, thus the matter became a vicious

circle. In order to save "the idea of the WCFU," to avoid, by any means, the "danger of chaos," two presidents were elected, each for a half-term. Mykola Plavyuk of the Melnyk faction "reigned" for the first thirty months, and then Ivan Bazarko of the Bandera faction substituted for Plavyuk in the second half of the five-year term in the summer of 1981.

As a result of the compromise reached between the two OUN factions the leadership of the WCFU has been made up, (the way its behind-the-scenes organizers from the secret service who do not go into every detail in order to create an impression among ethnic Ukrainians that foresaw it would the nationalists act with some degree of independence), comprising people from pro-fascist organizations. There are representatives from the Bandera and Melnyk factions, and a handful of outsiders who share their views; plus several clergymen, most of whom though, like Metropolitan Mstyslav, are bespattered with blood in his collaboration with the Nazis. But, as they say, they eat from the same bowl.

At the time of war M. Plavyuk did not, in fact, join the Nazi military, punitive or other groups, nor did he show his fascist inclinations in full for the very simple reason of being too young then. The current WCFU president, I. Bazarko, associated himself with fascism and fascists as far back as the 1930s.

During the war his collaboration with the Nazis took on especially repulsive and odious aspects. He worked for example, on the "helping" committee at Belzec in the Lviv area where the Nazis and their collaborators set up a death camp in which thousands of people were shot down and incinerated in crematoria. Bazarko went later on to Straubing and then to Regensburg where he continued to serve the Nazis until the very end of the war.

As a worker of the "helping" committees Bazarko took part in round-ups, requisitions of grain, cattle, and warm clothes for the needs of the fascists which the committees were set to help.

On I. Bazarko's list of treasons is his editorship of the small pro-Nazi newspaper *Sokalski Visti* whose pages were filled with praises sung to Hitler, to the policy of genocide, and with vicious anti-Semitic propaganda. Anti-Semitism has always been a hobby horse of the WCFU, and it is still riding it. His hatred towards Jews is so monstrously pathological and in many instances greater than that of the Nazis themselves.

For example, on September 2, 1941, he issued a call to have all the local Jews marked in a special way and sent to forced labor for the good of Hitler. The OUN toady of the Third Reich wished to have a similar thing done to all the Jewish population of Ukraine which he hoped would be "liberated for ever" by the Nazis.

On September 9 of the same year, supporting the German-Ukrainian police who organized pogroms in the Jewish neighborhoods, shooting and torturing Jews, Bazarko wrote: "The trial that will sentence them will be a great one. It will take place without our participation, but it is sure to give them what they deserve. As the iron fist of the reborn Germany has fallen on the head of this racial monster, now the fist of entire Europe is about to do the same! This horrible blow will mercilessly destroy them!"

It would be good for Zionist leaders who are on hob-nobbing terms with the Ukrainian nationalists, to remember what Bazarko once had to say.

Proceeding from their reactionary stance, the participants of the WCFU-III looked in their special way at the people's striving for peace and international cooperation. Thus, B. Potapenko, one of the WCFU "elite"

and Bandera admirer, said that "the policy of peaceful coexistence or 'detente' ...is regarded with suspicion" by the nationalist leaders.

The organizers of the WCFU hoped the presence at the congress of some of the most reactionary American and Canadian officials would be a decisive factor that would add "significance" to the event and "save" it from failure. But, as the nationalist propaganda had to admit, the WCFU-III "lacked gala quality" and appropriate "political orientation." The Mayor of New York City, for example, refused to speak to the gathering at the Hotel Americana. The weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), published by the Melnyk faction had the following comment: "Mr. Koch sent one of his junior deputies instead of appearing himself. He seems to have a short memory and has already forgotten his electioneering when he visited Ukrainian people's homes, as they say eight days a week, making it a point to stay for a dinner of 'vareniki,' the Ukrainian national dish."

Under these circumstances, "the tragic situation had to be remedied by inviting a Canadian minister (the then minister for culture N. Cafique, who, because of his flagrantly anti-Soviet views, supported the cause of the reactionary nationalists — Ye. Sh.) who was made use of as many as two times," said B. Veryha, one of the delegates to the WCFU-III. No, Mr. Cafique, there is no mistake here; the Nazi collaborators boast of being able to use a Canadian minister for their vile purposes which have nothing in common with the interests of the Canadian people.

As a point of fact, when Mr. Cafique "on behalf of Canada" (!?) said that the clauses of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference (1975) gave him the right "to put demands to the USSR Government," he expressed the wishes of a small group of enemies of peace and relaxation of tension in international relations, followers

of fascism and terrorism, and not in any way the strivings of Canadian people.

When E. Mezvinsky, the then U.S. representative at the UN Human Rights Committee, said at a banquet, marking the occasion of the WCFU-III, that he on behalf of U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the U.S. Government subscribed to the aims of the WCFU in the field of human rights, he subscribed to the views of former Nazi collaborators.

What kind of aims the WCFU puts before itself is easy to understand if one keeps in mind that the delegates of the Third Congress, former Nazi collaborators, did not mind being openly and even officially called fascists.

As could be foreseen from anti-democratic declarations of cruelty, dog-eat-dog attitudes, fascism and racism pronounced by the nationalist leaders, the WCFU-III came to an ignominious failure. The rather optimistic tenor of the pre-congress, reactionary emigré publications turned into a deeply pessimistic admission, made right after the congress ended, that the WCFU-III showed and underlined "differences," there was "mess," "senility of membership," "lack of unity," in other words the state of things prevalent among the nationalists.

Nationalist reactionaries of all kinds admit now that from the moment the congress opened, instead of "planned upsurge of spirits, cheerfulness and belief in their own strength they were sagging into disappointment and depression."

V. Kushnir, president of the WCFU-II, was given the floor to "solemnly announce the congress open" but he was "physically unfit to utter his greetings." His thirty-minute mumbling ended "really tragically," because "he neither spoke into the microphone nor could he read what he had prepared." And no matter how hard M. Plavyuk tried to prompt Kushnir, "instead of being impressed with solemnness of the moment, the audience began

to show all the signs of discontent." Calls like "Let's wrap it up!" came from various parts of the hall.

After the 85-year-old Uniate priest V. Kushnir, the floor was given to the 80-year-old Metropolitan Mstyslav. Everybody expected to hear greetings but instead heard the shocking revelation: the majority of Ukrainians living outside Ukraine did not care a bit about the problems to be discussed at the congress. The nationalist press later commented that the Metropolitan intended "to deal a good blow to his opponents," that is, to the pretenders to the leadership in the WCFU. The situation acquired additional poignancy when Mstyslav began heaping abuse on the publishers and editors of nationalist publications who allowed articles describing more or less truthfully the state of affairs in the nationalist camp to appear in their magazines and papers.

"The opponents" were not intimidated by the "sanctity" of the speaker, and his high position in the holy orders, but started a squabble, in the best tradition of the nationalists. And when Most Reverend Mstyslav mentioned the book *Congress of the Puppets*, published in Kiev exposing the nationalist leaders, impatient calls could be heard again coming from the audience: "We've heard enough, stop it!" Hearing it, Metropolitan said in reply: "It only goes to show that some of you are afraid that your names are in that booklet too!"

Oh yes, Most Reverend Mstyslav, they are afraid, and very much so, because their hands are covered with the blood of innocent people.

Metropolitan himself, whose real name is Stepan Skrypnyk, judging from what he says, is not afraid of anything though there are quite a lot of things that can make him feel extremely uncomfortable. He was in the employ of the Polish security service where he engaged in the activities harmful to the Polish people; he was an active collaborator with the Nazis and pub-

lished a pro-Nazi newspaper in Nazi-occupied Ukraine. He adopted the name of Mstyslav in 1942 when he was created "bishop" by the Nazis. Immediately upon acquiring his new high office in the church hierarchy, the newly appointed bishop began sending letters to T. Bulba-Borovets, one of the organizers of the nationalist armed bands, with demands to enter into collaboration with the Nazis "with no conditions stipulated."

His epistles are another proof that his "sanctification" was staged by the Nazis with the sole purpose of having the "Ukrainian" church help them brainwash people and consequently lure them into nationalist military units.

At present Metropolitan Mstyslav is obsessed with the idea of declaring it illegal for Ukrainians living outside Ukraine, to go to Ukraine or meet Soviet Ukrainians, representing Ukrainian culture abroad. Mstyslav goes as far as to threaten excommunication for the "transgressors" who in growing numbers visit Ukraine, ignoring all "interdictions" issued by the leaders of reactionary groupings. By the look of things even the threat of anathema is of no great help.

Most of the comments on the gathering of ghosts of Hitlerism and neofascism in the Hotel Americana were filled with despondent phraseology: "distressing moments," "chaos," "broken schedules." "The tension was high" during the speech made by L. Dobrianski, colonel of the U.S. military intelligence and leader of the UCCA. "Indignation" of some and "annoyance" of others were characteristic states of people attending the nationalist pseudo-scientific sessions held at the WCFU-III. By the way, one of the speakers at one of the sessions was I. Hrynyokh, the former chaplain of the Nazi "Nachtigall" battalion.

About a week before the WCFU-III was due to open, the nationalist bi-weekly *Ukrainske Zhyttya* (Ukrainian Life) wrote that the "WCFU activities actually boil down

to adopting superficial patriotic resolutions and cheap manifestations which do downright damage rather than any good."

Upright Ukrainians abroad refuse to have anything in common with the upholders of fascism, and oppose and condemn anti-communist activities of the ossified enemies of peace and detente, enemies of the Ukrainian people, enemies of the peoples of the countries where ethnic Ukrainians live. The reaction thinks of peoples of all ethnic backgrounds in terms of mere cannon fodder for the small and big wars they dream and speak about.

The WCFU-III was doomed to failure. A new round of squabbles among participant organizations began right after the congress ended. Fierce fighting continues between the leaderships of the Bandera and Melnyk factions whose ambition is to gain control of the WCFU. Reasonable and realistically-minded ethnic Ukrainians in the West continue their criticism of the reactionary WCFU, and young people of Ukrainian descent in growing numbers abandon anti-Soviet attitudes. To make the long story short, one can say that the WCFU, alongside other nationalist organizations, has turned into an extreme right wing clan which unites very few of Ukrainians abroad. WCFU activities have nothing in common with the principles of democracy. Everything points to the fact that without the support it gets from the secret services of the USA and other Western countries, the WCFU would have disintegrated within months or even days. Its leadership, being on the payroll as they are of intelligence and other subversive centers of imperialism, stick to the anti-Soviet, anti-democratic line. The WCFU-III was just another proof of it.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA: A PROFILE

In the early 1930s extreme right wingers in America, inspired by the success of Nazis in Germany, came to life. According to U.S. historians, there were about 700 pro-Hitler groups in the USA. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations, supervised by the Nazi secret service and fulfilling the tasks it set, became more active as well. The organizations of the extreme right flooded the U.S. with numerous publications which spoke evil of democratic and labor union movements, censured the "too liberal" line taken by the Roosevelt Administration, issued calls for establishing "a firmer regime" in the USA, modelling it on Hitler's, and doing away with democratic institutions. American historian A. Kahn, describing the tasks this "fifth column" undertook to fulfill, writes that they planned to disrupt U.S. war preparations and isolate America from her allies fighting fascism.

Special militarized schools where Nazi secret agents trained Ukrainian nationalists in subversion, spying and terrorist acts, were set up on the territory of the United States at the Nazi secret service's expense.

Senyk-Hrybivsky, OUN member and Nazi agent in the U.S., organized several para-military camps where special agents, saboteurs, and even military units were trained with money supplied by the Nazis. Luka Myshuha, editor of the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Freedom) was in fact a Nazi agent. Danylo Skoropadsky, son of the ex-hetman P. Skoropadsky, was also very energetic in his spying and subversive activities in the USA in favor of Nazi Germany. An American branch of the organization of fascist-Ukrainians "Hetman," whose headquarters were based in Berlin, operated on the territory of the USA. It was headed by John (Ivan) Kus

who, in his menial message to Hitler of September 30, 1938, praised the Führer for his "historic steps taken in defense of German ethnic minority's rights."

The above is a very brief outline of how the "conglomerate," the future Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations and groups was formed on the territory of the United States.

The failure to stage a fascist coup-d'état in the USA, in which the pro-Nazi predecessors of the UCCA, the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in the USA and the Organization of Statehood Rebirth of Ukraine, took part, was the starting point for the creation of the UCCA. After the planned coup had fallen through, Berlin sent instructions to "Americanize" pro-Hitler centers masking their activities with claims of being "non-political," "non-profit public" organizations.

The creation of the UCCA was officially made public in Washington on May 24, 1940. The UCCA replaced the Association of Ukrainian Organizations which had been disbanded by American authorities for its anti-American activities. The establishment of the UCCA was hailed by the most reactionary circles in the USA. They appreciated the unwavering anti-communism of the nationalists. The fact that the UCCA had come into being owes thanks to the Nazis' expansionist ideas, which were purposefully overlooked. The U.S. official bodies also dismissed the fact that the very same persons who had been members of the Association of Ukrainian Organizations, and who continued to work for the Nazis, joined the UCCA.

Samostiyna Ukraina (Independent Ukraine) magazine (published in Chicago) wrote in the spring of 1979 that after the USA had entered war with Nazi Germany, the nationalists from the UCCA "lived in great fear" of being drafted to the U.S. army as American citizens.

The UCCA leadership was very enthusiastic about nationalist toadies of Hitler who had joined Nazi military units. *Samostiyna Ukraina* wrote with great cynicism: "We were eager to see Warsaw fall; next will be Moscow's turn."

Progressively-minded Ukrainian Americans helped the Ukrainian people with what they could during the hardships of the war and post-war years. The UCCA leadership tried to intimidate the organizers of this aid, and called on ethnic Ukrainians to help survivors from the bands of the Nazi-sponsored Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The call was issued at the third congress of the UCCA in 1946. *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News), published by the Ukrainian American League, wrote that nationalists "wanted only to find a direction in which to turn, like weathercocks, so obedient to all the winds of moment."

Riding on the crest of the wave of anti-Soviet hysteria that hit the USA after the war, and especially at the time of McCarthyism, the UCCA actively drew new membership, mostly from those Ukrainian nationalists who had served in the SS division "Halychina" and other military units. With the help of the notorious United Ukrainian-American Relief Committee, and in open violation of American laws, thousands of former SS men and war criminals were allowed to come to live in the United States. They were given the right to do business using valuables which had been plundered in the Nazi-occupied territories. This was how Roman Drazhnyovsky, a former SS man, entered the USA. He currently heads "the School Council" of the UCCA. There is even more to this story. The former SS man has received an award for his contribution to the development of cartography (being a geographer he probably redraws border lines of some European countries to suit his tastes better).

Havrylo Myshchenko and Pavlo Starostenko who had caused so much suffering in the lands around the town of Kherson, were also allowed to come to the United States. Petro Voynovsky who had taken part in horrible pogroms in the Bukovina area, was known to have been living in New York until quite recently.

Ivan Bazarko, also one of the leaders of the UCCA, had served the Nazis in the Lviv region during the war. His activities centered around the town of Belz where practically the entire Jewish population had been wiped out. The newspaper *Sokalsky Visti* which he edited, constantly featured articles eulogizing Hitler and his aggressive plans, praising the atrocities inflicted upon innocent civilians, especially Jewish. The paper called on the young people to volunteer to go to Germany, or join Nazi military units.

Ihnat Bilynsky, one of the leaders of the UCCA, as well as war criminals Zenon Matla and L. Rykhtytsky who now edit the UCCA semi-official newspaper *America* (published in Philadelphia), filling it with anti-Soviet slander, faithfully served the Nazis.

The U.S. secret service appointed as far back as in 1949 one of its young agents (who is now a 65-year-old colonel in the reserve of the U.S. military intelligence) Leo Dobrianski, to coorditate and control UCCA activities. He has a strong dislike for the Ukrainian language, literature, culture, and traditions. He has never visited Ukraine. After 30 years as the head of the UCCA, which is supposed to be a "Ukrainian" organization, he is still ignorant of the Ukrainian language, the language of the people so distant and incomprehensible to him.

Dobrianski is very keen on presenting himself as a "patriot" of both Ukraine and the United States. Since it is common knowledge that he and the organization he heads are engaged in active subversion directed

against the Ukrainian people and Ukraine, there is hardly any need to look for additional facts that would support his claims of being a "Ukrainian patriot." As far as his "American patriotism" is concerned, this is what the nationalists themselves think of it. The UCCA president "reminds one of a servant who serves his master well because he lives in the same house. But when his master is thrown down on the ground by his enemy in a fight, the servant kicks his prone master with his feet." Isn't this a very accurate description of a "true patriot"?

In spite of this he was chosen (though in fact temporarily) to be an advisor to Ronald Reagan in the latter's 1980 election campaign. Dobrianski was among those whose concern was foreign policy and defense...

What kind of views does Dobrianski hold in matters of foreign policy and defense? In a concise and cynically frank way he expressed them in his book *The USA and the Soviet Myth.* He wrote that the United States should have the unlimited right to carry out para-military political acts to supplement the inefficient policy of deterrent. The self-styled strategist goes on to say that the United States should, with no hesitation, strike preventive blows at the hostile states. Dobrianski's membership in the right-wing John Birch Society can throw additional light on his views.

Dobrianski's attitude toward Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks can help better understand what he regards as best for the U.S. foreign policy. *Svoboda* (Freedom) which has a permanent feature about Dobrianski, whom its editors idolize, wrote in its issue of November 1, 1979: "...we should all write immediately to the senators which represent us, collective and personal letters, demanding that they refuse to ratify SALT-2 accord since it can jeopardize national security of America."

The UCCA leaders' assurances of their "American patriotism and loyalty" can hardly be described in any other way but as hypocrisy. But maybe it is just a new form of expressing one's national feelings when, say, the *Samostiyna Ukraina* (Independent Ukraine) magazine calls Americans "hungry, insatiable wolves who want to devour us (nationalists — Ye. Sh.)."

The memory of crimes committed by Bandera groups, faithful followers of the Nazis, who brought so much suffering to people, cannot be obliterated. The OUN ideology, and specifically that of the Bandera faction, is openly hostile to everything worthwhile in world culture, and to the best humanitarian traditions of mankind. The mothers whose sons were murdered by Bandera followers will not forget the executioners. Neither will they be forgiven by the prisoners of concentration camps where Bandera followers also served. The survivors from Oświęcim and other death camps with crematoria to burn people, remember the criminals only too well. M. Klymyshyn, one of the UCCA leaders and Bandera followers, was promoted by the Nazis to the rank of a kitchen supervisor in the death camp of Oświęcim (Auschwitz in German) for his "services" in establishing the Nazi "new order," in particular for taking part in punitive operations. It was at the Oświęcim camp that more than 4 million people perished, many of the victims dying of hunger.

No matter how hard the UCCA leadership tries to mask their true nature with idle talk about the "public character" of their activities, about "wide backing" from the Ukrainian Americans, they will not be able to conceal the truth. Preparations for the latest (thirteenth) congress of the UCCA were marked with a viciously anti-democratic spirit. Anton Drahan, a former Nazi toady, had to admit that "in the 40-year history of the

UCCA, or for that matter in the history of its predecessors, no other congress has been arranged under conditions of greater secrecy."

The leaders of the Bandera faction of the OUN had ensured their victory at the UCCA 13th congress long before it opened by very thorough preparations for making the UCCA just a mere branch of the Bandera faction. Those persons who were suspected of holding views even ever so slightly further to the "left" from the ones held by the Bandera people, had been removed from leadership at local UCCA bodies. Fictitious "clubs" and "people's houses" which "sent delegates to the congress" were set up, the delegates, of course, being of the Bandera affiliation. The leader of the Bandera faction of the OUN, Ya. Stetsko, ordered to have all the key positions in the UCCA captured by exclusively the right people and if need be, "to storm them." This Bandera coup definitely reeked of methods practised by the mafia.

But the Bandera people did everything straight from the shoulder; they used blackmail against their opponents among other methods of intimidation. How "democratic" are the principles on which the UCCA operates can be understood from the following. One branch of the UCCA in California which has only six members, delegated eight to the congress. Naturally all of them were of the Bandera affiliation. When there was a lack of "right people" in a particular branch they were found outside of it. Even when the delegates from over 15 member-organizations of the UCCA left the hall where the congress was held, "in protest," the Bandera group was not worried: "the actual majority of the delegates remained." This was what the Bandera leaders wanted in the first place — to have the opponents removed.

The 13th congress elected 26 persons to the "executive body" of the UCCA, and most of them were of the Bandera affiliation. As far as the membership of the so-called "opposition" is concerned, most of them were also former Nazi collaborators from other nationalist organizations.

The Bandera groups foment dissent among the ethnic Ukrainians abroad, spread fears, and engage in blackmail. The UCCA, under their close supervision, subjects the cultural exchange between nations and states to such blatant and vicious attacks, that the Uniate newspaper *America* couldn't help commenting with exhilaration: "Both the WCFU and the UCCA have long adopted a clear-cut attitude toward cultural exchange with the Ukrainian SSR, condemning it as detrimental and objectionable." The principles of the UCCA policies "forbid" Ukrainian Americans "to establish contacts with any culture-exchange delegation from communist countries." But if it so happens that a member of a nationalist organization does "come into any kind of contact" with Soviet citizens under certain circumstances or "finds it difficult to avoid contributing to such contacts," he must immediately resign from the UCCA. If he does not he will be expelled.

Activities of Ukrainian nationalists in the USA center not on promoting cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people but on shallow politicking. They concentrate not on studying the Ukrainian language but on ideological brainwashing, not on learning Ukrainian songs but on anti-Soviet squeaking, not on developing culture but on making a lot of noise, which amounts to nothing. One finds in the governing bodies of the UCCA former Nazi collaborators, politickers, hard-core racists, enemies of peace and neighborly relations between countries, embezzlers of money, wheedled by fraudulent means out of non-suspecting Ukrainian Americans who in their

majority are yet ignorant of the true nature of the activities of the nationalist leaders; the leaders who abhor democracy and real freedom.

HOLDING THE SAME POSTS, OR THE GREATEST COMPLIMENT, OUN STYLE

Terrorism has always been one of the essential features of Ukrainian nationalism. By backing up nationalist organizations and by giving blessings to anti-Soviet activities, Washington backs up terrorist groups, among them, OUN professional murderers. Some organs of Western media, denying the terrorist character of the OUN and other nationalist organizations, claim that terrorist acts, committed by nationalists (who served the Nazis and who later found themselves in the West) in Poland before the war were spontaneous and had not been planned. Thus they were not on the OUN list of program principles. These claims are groundless and are clearly attempts to exonerate nationalist involvement. There are numerous facts that disprove these claims, some of which are public knowledge. Murders of political and cultural figures in pre-war Poland, terrorist acts against Soviet representatives in Poland of that time, terrorism against the civilian population in the territories of Ukraine, occupied by the Nazis, participation in genocide against Jews and Poles, physical destruction of those Ukrainians who, once the war was over, wanted to return home after years in German captivity or after staying in the West for some other reasons, are a few such examples. Other facts are not so well known and concern the terrorism inherent in the OUN and other nationalist groups.

Murderer Expresses Sympathies

One day in July of 1943, a group of OUN members from the Melnyk faction returned to its base after fulfilling the task set before it by the Nazis. They put out sentries where they thought Soviet partisans could attack and went to sleep. The group members were sure that there was no possible danger from their Nazi and Bandera "allies." Quite unexpectedly a Bandera unit surrounded the camp and demanded that their "brothers" surrender arms.

One of the "Melnyk faction commanders" of that time, M. Skorupsky, described what happened next. When one member of the Melnyk band, Haryachy, refused to hand in his gun, Harmash, a member of the Bandera group, sprayed his "ally" with bullets from his submachine gun. Other "recalcitrants" were dealt with in a similar manner.

The story of these events was featured in the Melnyk weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), published in Paris, in its January 1973 issue. Some time later, making a summary of his description of the Bandera-Melnyk collaboration with the Nazis, M. Skorupsky came to the following conclusion in connection with massive purges, carried out by the security service in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: "The security service and its activities fill the darkest page in our history."

Thus, the Bandera groups launched their terrorist campaign against their opponents, the Melnyk faction in particular, the feud taking place against a background of massive slaughter of the civilian population that was carried out by nationalists of all factions. In such a peculiar way Stetsko & Co. wanted to stay in the eyes of their Nazi masters as their "only faithful" lackeys. *Nash Holos* (Our Voice), published in Trenton, in an article dealing with the strife in the OUN ranks at the time, wrote: "There were so many Melnyk faction

members, or even those who were only suspected of belonging to the Melnyk faction, who perished then! The original Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under the command of T. Borovets, was disbanded by force. After the UPA's reorganization, Skorupsky's group was included by force, and Skorupsky himself, who by then had under his command a group of one hundred men, was dismissed and told to present himself at the local headquarters of the Security Service (SB). If he is still alive, it is only because he disappeared from view then and never turned up at the Security Service's HQ."

These facts of "fraternal reunification" between warring nationalist factions have been mentioned here in the following connection.

When the leader of the Melnyk faction, Denis Kvitkovsky, recently died, many of his "party fellow members" spoke at the meeting of former Nazi collaborators that was held after the funeral. Among others, M. Klimishin liberally shed tears at the freshly dug grave side. There is no mistake here. It was indeed Klimishin, the very same Bandera-faction member who was one of the organizers of the extermination campaign against members of the OUN Melnyk faction. The very same man who, had their meeting occurred in the early 1940s, would have dispatched Kvitkovsky to the other world without batting an eyelid. That Klimishin and his "confreres" have not changed an iota can be gathered directly from nationalist propaganda. At the time when the Melnyk faction people were still in mourning for the deceased Kvitkovsky, entire pages of Bandera faction publications were given to eulogies of Klimishin's life marking the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Among other greetings there was one from the Bandera faction leader, Ya. Stetsko, who called Klimishin "the hero" of the OUN, now living in the U.S. "modestly and with the knowledge of the duty done." "He was a taciturn fight-

er," wrote the Bandera faction weekly *Shlyakh Peremohy*, placing emphasis on his participation in many terrorist actions...

A question naturally arises: how did the Bandera terrorist find himself at the funeral of the Melnyk faction leader? What about irrefutable proofs of Klimishin's involvement in extermination of the Melnyk "allies" before, during, and after the Second World War? Perhaps Klimishin decided to change his affiliation and side with the Melnyk faction. Styranka, one of the nationalists who is "most firm in his beliefs," goes to bed at night being a true Bandera faction member but in the morning his views change so radically that he proclaims his eternal adherence to the socialists. When he arrives at his office of the Melnyk faction publication *Ukrainske Slovo* he is a champion of the Melnyk cause. *Homin Ukrainy*, published by the Bandera faction, denies the possibility of Klimishin changing his views, calling him "an important activist in the leadership" of the Bandera faction.

His presence at the funeral is explained very simply: the murderer was there to express his sympathies.

A Bit of History The breaking up of the OUN in February of 1940 was a natural event in the internal strife among its members. One faction was headed by A. Melnyk, the other by S. Bandera. The Melnyk faction was taken by the Chief Administration of the Third Reich's Security at the Nazi Ministry of Internal Affairs under its aegis. The Bandera faction found itself subordinate to the German Army intelligence, Abwehr.

Ukrainian nationalists served the Nazis and at the same time were engaged in fierce fighting for "domination" in the OUN that would give them the right to

get as big a chunk as possible from what had been plundered from the population, and to receive a better share from the Nazis. Those engaged in the feud heaped abuse at each other, flung mud at the opponents, even more often than their leaders would have wished, having recourse to firearms as an argument for settling problems.

After the break-up into two factions the strife did not stop and was fanned with new vigor, though the methods used were different. The Bandera faction turned out to be the more efficient. While Nazi collaborators from the Melnyk faction were writing denunciations, and were giving Germans invented proof of the Bandera faction not being loyal to the Nazis, or were trying to arrange to have the Bandera "march groups" (of which one of the largest was commanded by Klimishin) ordered out of the Eastern parts of Ukraine, the Bandera men got down to business using decisive and treacherous means. They stepped up their terrorist campaign against Ukrainians living in territories temporarily occupied by Nazis in order to show their "supreme loyalty to the Führer." According to *Ukrainske Slovo*, "if a villager refused to take a Banderite in his wagon from local headquarters to the man's girl who lived quite a distance away in the middle of the night, the villager was liable to have a hundred lashes administered to him." The paper went on to say that "there are scores of people among emigrés who can give legally valid evidence about acts of terrorism, committed by Bandera faction members against Ukrainian patriots and innocent people."

The Bandera and Melnyk factions are soul-mates, but in the struggle for being the only ones trusted by the Nazis enough to be allowed to serve them, Banderites turned out to be much more proficient. According to *Vilny Svit* (Free World), published in Canada, they

killed about five thousand Melnyk faction members (the actual total must have been higher) as a result of "horrible fratricide" within a short period of time. A certain M. Pihulyak writes that orders to kill were given not only by Bandera himself but also by Stetsko, Lebed, and others.

The article which appeared in *Ukrainske Slovo* mentions the murder of Shubsky, Kuts and other persons of some standing in the Melnyk faction by Banderites. But before we turn to examine this phase of the feud in the OUN, we will look at the statement made by H. Prishlyak, former leader of a local Security Service Group of the Bandera faction, made on December 3, 1946. The statement throws some light on the activities of the Bandera faction of the OUN and its Security Service which passed sentences and executed them. H. Prishlyak stated that the tasks given to the Security Service, had been issued by M. Lebed. Among its other functions the Security Service, headed by Lebed, had to look for those who were opposed to Bandera methods and those who were against having Bandera as the head of the faction, and once found, such persons were to be terrorized at first morally, and then exterminated physically. It was with this in mind that the Secret Service was collecting information about Melnyk faction members, sent out its spies among Poles, and sought to uncover all those who had "Eastern" views.

The Way It Happened A man, well advanced in years, is sitting in front of me. He is the very person who, upon orders from the Bandera faction, organized the murdering of Senyk and Stsiborsky, Melnyk faction leaders.

He told me that they had been killed on Malomykhailivska Street in the town of Zhitomir on August 30,

1941. Several weeks before the killings took place, details of this terrorist action were discussed on the bank of the Teteriv River not far from the building occupied by an Abwehr group. Presiding over the meeting was Mykola Klimishin who commanded at that time the so-called "Northern march group" (group "North") and at the same time, being a Nazi agent, was subordinated to the Abwehr unit that was part of the German group of armies "Mitte" (Center). The Abwehr group in question was under the command of Major Jost — consequently Klimishin came under his command known by the nickname of "Monk." Moving north and eastward through the Nazi-occupied territories of Ukraine in the wake of their advancing armies, and sometimes carrying out sabotage and terrorist acts in the rear of the Soviet Army, the group "North's" main "political" goal was to get to Kharkiv, to create the "country's government 'East'" (without representation from the Melnyk faction of course), and get into the leading positions in the German-Ukrainian police.

In addition to Klimishin (alias — "Survivor") other persons who took part in this conferring in Zhitomir were: Dmytro Myron — "Eaglet"; Mayivsky — "Nestor"; Pavlishin — "Wolf"; H. Prishlyak, an OUN Security Service man with several aliases — "Weis," "Safety Match," "Mikushka."

Now let us proceed to what was actually said and decided at the meeting. At first, it was announced that the OUN Bandera faction leader, Lebed, had ordered the killing of Senyk and Stsiborsky; this decision was announced to those present at the meeting; all the details of the assassination were to be discussed in the town where it would take place (Zhitomir). Bandera faction leadership did not cherish the idea of letting the Melnyk faction spread its influence (with Senyk and Stsiborsky being responsible for it) in the Eastern parts

of the occupied territory of Ukraine. The immediate necessity for the assassination was claimed to have arisen from Melnyk men's involvement in the capturing of several subordinates of Klimishin's from the "march group" and turning them in to the German security service with a complete batch of accusations "in all of the deadly sins" (in other words with the "evidence" of their "disloyalty" to the Nazis). The Melnyk faction men evidently entertained the hope that the Nazis would shoot the captured Banderites.

The meeting, after a short discussion, accepted the suggestions which had been brought from Lebed by Prishlyak.

Only after the action had been formally decided upon, did Prishlyak introduce the person who would be the actual assassin of Senyk and Stsiborsky — Stepan Koziy (he was, by the way, forced into becoming a murderer by threats and intimidation), and another person — a Security Service man from the Ternopil area, short and almost completely bald, though still rather young, who was to be a bodyguard for the terrorist. The next thing Prishlyak had to do was to insure that the assassination would take place as soon as possible and that it would not be a failure. Participants of the meeting did not care what would happen to Koziy; rather they knew that the security man, allegedly invited to serve as Koziy's bodyguard, was in fact to kill him after the assassination.

To quote the man who is telling me the story of the assassination, "For the next several days in August, two men from Klimishin's group studied the movements and habits of the two Melnyk faction group leaders who had been sentenced to death. One of Klimishin's agents managed even to get himself into Senyk and Stsiborsky's office and become a clerk there."

Koziy, armed with a pistol and two grenades, was

meanwhile waiting for the right time to strike. In an underpass on the road to Kiev, he checked the gun's performance and moved in to keep track of the movements of the two men who daily went to the Gestapo office located on Berdychivska Street. Because they were quite sure that nobody would risk an attack on persons so loyal to the Nazis, Senyk and Stsiborsky moved about without giving much thought to taking special protective measures, but the danger came from where they least suspected it might.

On Saturday, August 30, 1941, while walking slowly down Malomykhailivska Street, wearing ordinary paramilitary uniforms, they were silently approached from behind. Three shots rang out; the dead bodies of Senyk and Stsiborsky sprawled on the paved sidewalk.

The assassin himself, Koziy, was dispatched, all according to the assassination plan, in one of the nearby gardens minutes after the act had been committed. An identification card that had been issued by the so-called Ukrainian Auxiliary Committee in Cracow was found on him. The next day a leaflet entitled "Blood on the Hands of Bandera" was released by the OUN Melnyk faction.

Gestapo and their Melnyk faction agents buried Senyk and Stsiborsky in great pomp: meanwhile Klimishin went to Lviv to submit his report to Lebed. The following is taken from the account by the man involved in the assassination: "The Bandera faction sent out its people to the Lviv-Zhitomir highway to warn Klimishin that the Gestapo was already looking for him. The Nazi collaborator Klimishin, however, grew indignant at this warning saying that he 'has given his word to the Germans to serve them faithfully' and then hurried to Monk Jost, his boss from the Abfehr."

Nevertheless Klimishin did have to talk to the Nazi security service. He was reprimanded for his association

with the Abwehr and not with Nazi Security Service, and then was allowed to go to Lviv where he was given an apartment to live in and food rations of the kind that German officers usually received, to subsist on. For several months Klimishin worked collecting vegetables in a Nazi hospital garden, and then he was transferred to Oświęcim to be supervisor of the kitchens in the death camp.

The story was summed up by the following words: "After the assassination of the two leading Melnyk faction figures and listening to Prishlyak's report on the completion of his mission, M. Lebed went on an inspection tour of the Bandera groups that operated in the Zhitomir and Vinnitsya areas. He did not conceal his satisfaction over the assassination of Senyk and Stsiborsky, praising Prishlyak for the well-done job. From tactical considerations the Bandera faction, in a special circular, denied their involvement in the assassination and stated in categorical terms that 'the OUN's attitude to the late Senyk and Stsiborsky as well as to the entire political group they belonged to, is negative, and considers their actions to be detrimental to the Ukrainian people. Nevertheless we emphasize that the OUN was not involved in any way with the assassination of Senyk and Stsiborsky.' "

The murderers wanted to stay clean. Any other comment would be superfluous.

Instead of an Afterword

To this day people in places where the OUN had once been active remember the horrible atmosphere of terror. The nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Freedom) in one of its issues published an article by the paper's regular and active contributor who wrote under the pseudonym "Iker." The article describes

a visit of a Ukrainian woman and her two children living in Poland to their American relatives. One night during their visit, the woman's brother, switched on the TV set. The family settled down to watch a western, with cowboys engaging in shoot-outs. Quite an unexpected situation developed right in front of the box. To quote from *Svoboda:*

" 'Bandera men! Bandera men!' cried out the two boys all at once, pointing their fingers at the cowboys. My friend's sister was greatly embarrassed. The poor thing, she even turned pale! She grabbed her brother's hand and began apologizing, at first for the children, and then for herself and her husband, saying she was awfully sorry for having given such a bad political education to their offspring" (evidently the woman, being aware of the short temper of the Banderites feared that the spontaneous reaction of her children to what they saw might land them all in great trouble).

" 'That's all right, dear sister,' her brother said to her, allaying her fears. 'If your neighbors in those distant lands still remember the Banderites and frighten their children with stories about them, then, I should say, it's the biggest compliment for us there is!' "

What hideous creatures they are indeed! Even compliments they like best are monstrous! To see somebody die in violence is the greatest joy of life of the above "good brother," of Klimishin, of Lebed, of S. Mudryk, one of the leaders of the WCFU. Werewolves!

FROM A TERRORIST TO AN "HONORABLE EDITOR"

In one of its issues, the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (published in Jersey City, USA) decided to make its own contribution to the attacks on the Soviet judicial

system. The paper charged that it was "unhumanitarian" and "intolerant" since there is no law in the USSR that would allow citizens to carry guns (three firearms per capita would probably be a satisfactory ratio). By taking steps to prevent individuals from firing at other people just as "they please," any time of the day or night, the Soviet Union, in the opinion of the editorial of *Svoboda*, violates the basic human right of man, i. e. the right to kill whosoever one finds handy at a given moment.

Another "liberty" that the self-styled advocates from Jersey City want to see introduced in the Soviet Union is impunity for murderers, the reasoning behind this being: the crime has been already committed and the dead cannot be brought back to life anyway. Maybe that is why the paper in 1973 vigorously defended Kabayda, a Nazi collaborator, upon whose orders, during the Nazi occupation of Kiev, two pounds of bacon and flour were to be given as a prize for every killed Jew.

Among the "freedoms" advocated for by the newspaper's editors are air piracy and international terrorism. *Svoboda* more than once came to the defense of the OUN, Zionist and Croatian terrorists, those who organized and carried out bombing attacks on various representations of the communist countries in the West.

Declaring its adherence to the ideals of freedom, the newspaper extolls the fascist dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile, the murderous regime in El Salvador, and the reactionary clique in South Korea.

Svoboda (Freedom) stands for the freedom of aggressive "crusades," the freedom of assassinations, the freedom of abusing everything progressive, freedom of falsifications, and the freedom of intimidating Ukrainian Americans of good will who want peace and strengthened relations with Ukraine, the land of their ancestors.

The paper has always been edited by professional spies and terrorists, with the ideas of fascism, militarism and racism instilled in them. Luka Myshuha can serve as an example. A one-time spy in the USA, he published instructions in *Svoboda* on how to make explosives and bombs, issued calls to do away with democracy in the United States, and establish a "firm" fascist-type regime copying it from Hitler's.

Svoboda, in line with its policy, incompatible with the interests of the American people, frequently used materials it received from the propaganda service of Goebbels. In tune with its spiritual leaders, the newspaper wrote after the Nazi occupation of Belgium: "After cities and towns and factories have been wiped out, after half the European population has disappeared, people will have a chance to build new cities, new factories. And above all they will not be suffocating any longer from the lack of Lebensraum. Now the population of Europe is going to be reduced with the help of bullets, gases, bombs and epidemics. Explosives will help also solve the problem of unemployment."

This is how the idea of freedom is understood by the current "honorary" editor of the newspaper ("honorary" meaning for life) who gained his knowledge through the OUN schooling straight from the ideologists of fascism. He has learnt well the racist ideas of his teachers which had been swept away in a humiliating defeat, and hoping that another destructive world war may yet come, he puts forward the following tasks before his newspaper: "Deeply felt anti-Russian attitudes should be established in the wide masses of people; it is necessary to have all the Ukrainians learning to hate...; it is necessary to instill in people the feelings of hatred, to draw their attention to examples of expressions of hatred in poetry." Managing editors may change but the ideological essence of *Svoboda* does

not. It remains what it is: the haven of fascists, the organ of terrorists.

The "honorary" editor of *Svoboda*, Anton Drahan, prefers to keep his real name from public knowledge for there is too much criminal past associated with it. Nazis' collaborator, Andriy Lutsiv (Anton Drahan's real name) fought not only against the Ukrainian but against the American people as well.

Lutsiv joined the OUN when still a young man, and ardently got down to fulfilling the tasks set before him by its leaders, preparing and carrying out many terrorist acts. He was one of the main organizers of the OUN attacks on the Soviet Consulate in Lviv on October 21, 1933, which took the life of Olexiy Maylov, one of the Consulate officials. The man directly responsible for the murder of Maylov, a Lemyk, confessed that he "was only the instrument of the action that had been prepared by other persons," naming Andriy Lutsiv among others.

The OUN terrorists, among who Lutsiv-Drahan was one of the more noticeable figures, acted under the direct supervision and on direct orders from the Nazis (he began working for the Nazis masters back in the 1930s). The article "Berlin Always Knows First the Names of Terrorists or Murderers," published in the Polish newspaper *Express Wieczorny* (Lviv) on October 24, 1933, dealing with the assassination of the Soviet diplomat O. Maylov, implicitly suggests the OUN's involvement: "The Berlin Sunday's newspapers giving the name of the assassin of the official of the Soviet Consulate in Lviv has become a great sensation. The Nazi-orientated *Lokal-Anzeiger* says, for example, that the name of the assassin is Nikolaus Lemik (that is Mykola Lemyk). The German paper writes that he took Maylov for the Soviet Consul Holub who had been sentenced to death by a Ukrainian terrorist organization. One should

mention here that neither on Saturday nor on Sunday did anybody in Poland, except for a handful of people who took part in the investigation, know the name of the assassin. It is but natural to assume that the Ukrainian terrorists keep close contacts with German authorities. One can't help wondering whether the Nazis themselves were the initiators of the attack. One should also bear in mind the fact that Ukrainian terrorists use German-made 'Orgess' pistols. Those who have given them the guns must surely know against who they would be used!"

For his membership in the OUN bands and for his terrorist activities, Lutsiv was sentenced by a Polish court in the summer of 1934 to five years' imprisonment and disfranchisement for ten years.

During the war Lutsiv fulfilled the tasks set before him by the Nazi Secret Service and worked as an editor of the newspaper *Ukrainets* (The Ukrainian) published in Berlin in line with instructions from the Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda, and, of course, with the permission from the Gestapo. The progressive New York-based newspaper *Hromadsky Holos* (People's Voice) wrote in June of 1975: "With what great enthusiasm that fascist parrot of a newspaper praised the armor divisions of Hitler." The future editor of *Svoboda* was among those who dreamed about a thousand-year Reich, who were involved in the extermination of millions of people in order to see the Nazi "new order" established.

The fact that Andriy Lutsiv served the Nazis before and during the war was well known to the American secret service, but strange as it may seem, he easily won their protection when he offered his services to the Americans. It was as early as 1946 that he came to the United States under the assumed name of Anton Drahan. His entrance into the U.S. was in fact viola-

ting U.S. laws which did not allow Nazi collaborators to settle in the USA.

Drahan's friendship with the American intelligence service dates back to that time. Without their assistance the editor-in-chief of *Svoboda* cannot do anything and there is no one now who would be able to remove him from his editorship without the agreement of the U.S. secret service. Is that what is known as independence?

For his "faithful" services (for his "servility" which is a better word to describe it) the new masters put Lutsiv-Drahan into a spacious villa situated on the bank of the Hudson River. His life was made easy. He was asked to kindly publish his advice to budding terrorists, and share his rich experience which he gained serving the Nazis. That's what he has been doing to this very day. At the same time he terrorizes his nationalist subordinates by word of mouth and with the written word, trying to beat them into an unreserved submission.

The thing that worries him most (and he does not try to conceal it) is the possibility of peace on earth to be lasting. The above-mentioned paper *Hromadsky Holos* wrote once that "It is not patriotism or some well-founded reasons that make him (Drahan) express his war enthusiasm but a pathological mania to see the whole world on fire, the fire that must destroy all those he does not like."

It is almost beyond comprehension but the fact remains: nearly on every suitable occasion Drahan has a good word to say about a possible nuclear disaster which, in his words, would bring "bright future to mankind." He has enough cynicism to add that a nuclear war would not endanger Ukraine since "merciful God will save her." With an unprecedented enthusiasm Drahan has been writing about the neutron bomb which

he describes as "a humane weapon" and calls upon the U.S. government to deploy it in the NATO countries.

The following is what Drahan has to say about normal relations between foreign countries: "The scrutiny of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs of foreign countries... reveals the great danger built into it." This attitude speaks for itself and hardly needs a comment.

At the same time, demonstrating the lack of elementary decency and manners, Drahan calls upon the White House to go ahead with increases in the war budget. In so doing he disregards the difficult economic situation millions of Americans find themselves in. Taking little care for the niceties of expression, he constantly heaps abuse on those Americans who come forward supporting peace, relaxation of international tension, international security, and the betterment of economic conditions for the American working people. He also abuses those who oppose the threat of a new wave of McCarthyism which is definitely beginning to gain momentum.

Even if Drahan's *Svoboda* occasionally publishes some "information" on the cultural life of the Ukrainian people, it is so twisted, and the facts are so distorted that it is nigh impossible to find a grain of truth in them. Instead one finds slander, misrepresentations, and garbled versions. Every line of this nationalist publication reeks with hatred toward the Ukrainian people. The New York-based nationalist bulletin, *Notatnyk*, couldn't help making the comment: "You won't find any systematic or comprehensive information on the economic matters, science, or literature of Ukraine. The (U.S.) Ukrainian community has hardly had a worse or more dishonest periodical than *Svoboda*. The untidiness and illiteracy of *Svoboda* are staggering. Mistakes and false allegations fill its pages."

It is not only facts concerning Soviet life that *Svoboda* distorts. Drahan and his editorial staff adapt for their purposes utterances of some nationalist leaders who "fall out of step" (the way *Svoboda* sees it) or blurt out unintentionally some nationalist "secrets." Some time ago the participants of a nationalists' meeting publicly stated that the speech of Y. Lysohir, one of the nationalist leaders, as it appeared in *Svoboda*, had nothing whatsoever to do with what had actually been said at the meeting.

There are evidently some good reasons, in view of all said above, why many ethnic Ukrainians abroad often call the Nazi collaborator, terrorist and slanderer Lutsiv-Drahan and his younger associates from *Svoboda* "people from the other world, doomed to oblivion." Many years of continuous training in totalitarianism and hegemony (which is what Ukrainian Americans say with a full measure of justice, referring to *Svoboda*) resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of subscribers to this periodical in recent years. Most Ukrainian Americans find *Svoboda* with its hatred toward humanity and its reactionary ideas, repugnant. A sharply negative and critical attitude on the part of young Americans of Ukrainian descent toward this newspaper which nationalist propaganda considers to be their main organ is another proof of the fact that the nationalists do not have a future.

PANEGYRICS TO THE DICTATORS

There are some dictators in the world today whom mankind regards as epitomies of hatred, sadism and lawlessness. Their regimes represent legalized terrorism,

racism and entire lack of freedoms: Pinochet, Stressner, Chu Dohvan, Duarter, the late Chiang Kai-shek, Somoza, Pahk Chionghi, all those who were and are suppressors of freedom, stained by the blood of thousands of Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Koreans, South Africans, and Paraguayans.

The WCFU leaders consider all of them to be "able" and "humane" politicians, examples of fighters for "freedom" and "democracy." Therefore, whenever new provocative campaigns for "human rights" or "decolonization" of the Soviet Union are organized, the WCFU turn to them for inspiration, regarding them (now that Hitler is long gone) as their "best friends."

The "alliance" of Pinochet, responsible for atrocities in Chile, and the nationalist leaders (who collaborated with Hitler during the war and then offered their services to the secret services of the "free world") dates back to tragic events for Chile which occurred in September of 1973 when the lawful government of Salvador Allende was overthrown in a military coup. The establishment of the fascist-type dictatorship in Chile, was hailed by the nationalist press in wordy eulogies which called Pinochet the savior (almost a messiah) of the Chilean nation. Not a word was said about massive arrests and terror reigning in the country, shootings of the civilian population, or about tragedy in the central stadium in Santiago.

The personal contact was established in the following manner. Leaders of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentina (UCRA) — which is one of the constituent organizations of the WCFU — Kotulsky and Trakalo went to Pinochet with a humble request to help them "free" Ukraine, evidently in the bloody manner he practiced in Chile. Both sides at the meeting, having so much in common, expressed in various ways their mutual admiration, based on similar ideologies.

The WCFU-III elected the leaders of the UCRA Kotulsky and Trakalo to its governing body in recognition of their important contribution.

The joy of the first meeting had not yet passed when the nationalists began exploring ground for further contacts. The nationalists wanted to establish links with Pinochet because, among other reasons, there were not too many people in the West who were enthusiastic enough to have anything to do with former Nazi collaborators. So, the Bandera faction whose members left such a memory of themselves in Ukraine that people used to frighten their children by simply mentioning the name of Bandera, and whose representation in the WCFU is constantly growing, sent their emissary S. Stetsko to Santiago. She went to Pinochet with the request to prop up the dying cause of "independence," the thing that ethnic Ukrainians abroad, with the exception of the nationalist leadership of course, don't care a bit for. S. Stetsko tried hard to convince the dictatorial general that Ukrainian nationalists regarded the Chilean junta to be an exemplary regime. A regime of this kind should be, in her opinion, established in Ukraine; it was such a regime, she said, that the WCFU, OUN, UCCA and other organizations of that ilk, supported.

The dictator, who in his international isolation sought contacts with those who were compromised by their fascist or pro-fascist activities, evidently enjoyed the conversation. He enjoyed it so much that he ordered the corresponding bodies, the secret service above everybody else of course, "to keep in touch" with Ukrainian nationalists and use calumnies they concocted in provocative anti-communist statements the dictator's spokesmen made abroad. Shortly after this "memorable" meeting between Pinochet and Mrs. Stetsko, the Chilean Embassy in the USA invited B. Potapenko, the leader of the so-called Information Service of the WCFU in

New York and Bandera faction member, to a reception the embassy was shortly to hold. The nationalist and the diplomat from the fascist dictatorship exchanged their views on coordinating efforts in the fight "for freedom and democracy." They must also have shared their experience in carrying out punitive operations (the nationalist collaborators of Hitler surely had the chance of gaining a considerable experience in that).

Some time later, the nationalists, in token of their love and respect to the Chilean fascists, passed to the UN representative of Pinochet falsified "documents" dealing with the "violation of human rights" in the USSR. It is worthy to note that these "documents," prepared by the nationalists, were used not only by the Chilean dictatorship but by "American democracy" as well.

It is not only in personal contacts that Ukrainian nationalists show their devotedness to the policy of suppressing freedoms in Chile, and to the terrorism against persons who stand for the return of democracy in their country. The nationalist press launched a noisy campaign directed at whitewashing and justifying the reactionary policy of Pinochet. In response to the progressive public protests, voiced against repression in Chile, the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* called upon Americans not to denounce the dictator and his dictatorship but rather to attend to "more serious" business, since, as *Svoboda* cynically put it, what do a "score of imprisoned Chileans" matter when one should be concerned over the fact that fascist regimes are crumbling all over the world?

The WCFU leadership also reached understanding with Ian Smith at the time when he was prime minister of the racist government of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The WCFU leadership regarded the policy of White chauvinism and cruel repressions against the Black pop-

ulation conducted by Smith's regime, to be the best example of democracy and national independence. The nationalists wanted, as they repeatedly said in their publications, to see the Ukrainian people living under "freedoms" similar to the ones which the Black African population of Rhodesia had under the regime of Ian Smith.

The Philadelphia-based *America* newspaper cynically described as being "just" the fact that the whites in Rhodesia then possessed all the rights and the blacks, quite the other way round, lacked all the basic, elementary rights. The paper said that the black population was given instead the right "to work for the whites and thus earn their living." It is worthwhile to mention that during the Second World War nationalist propaganda used the same argument to prove "the necessity" for the Ukrainian youth from occupied territories to go to work for the Nazi Third Reich...

Svoboda repeatedly called upon the U.S. government to stop trade with the Soviet Union and instead trade with Rhodesian racists, who were "maltreated" by Black Africans.

Now the nationalist "champions of freedom" are quite unanimous in their support of the White House links with South-African racists, calling upon the Western countries to develop their economic relations with the South-African regime of apartheid. They praised the South-African aggression against independent and sovereign Angola.

The great affinity in outlooks is revealed in contacts of the South-African racists and Ukrainian nationalists. The latter never miss their chance to ask for a meeting with a representative of this or that dictatorship. Leo Dobrianski, for example, who is the president of the UCCA, one of the biggest nationalist organizations, managed to find a way of meeting the then Rhodesian

Premier Smith during the latter's visit to the United States. The colonel-nationalist and the Premier-racist discussed the methods of struggle for "human rights."

Another case for the nationalists' support of the enemies of democracy, enemies of providing national, social and political rights, revealed itself in the years of the infamous war American imperialism waged in Korea. Because nationalists felt they were of the same ilk with the traitors of the Korean people, the nationalist press launched on its pages a campaign of demands to continue the war, to step up the air raids on Korean towns and villages which had been seized by patriotic forces. They tried to convince the American youth of Ukrainian descent about the necessity of taking part in military operations against the People's Army of Korea because the war, in their interpretation, was "vital" and even "useful" for the people of the USA.

The regime in South Korea has managed to survive until now thanks only to American military backing. The regime has even banned the use of the word "democracy." Nationalists consider it to be an honor to meet the representatives of the regime, both in the USA and in Korea, in Seoul. At such meetings, the leaders of Ukrainian nationalist organizations express their full support of the South Korean puppet of American imperialism, calling this fascist-type dictatorship an example of implementation of "real" human rights.

Among nationalists, especially fervent supporters of the murderous regime in South Korea are V. Bezkhlibnyk and R. Malashchuk, of the Bandera faction leadership who, as members of various "anti-Bolshevik" delegations, pay rather frequent visits to South Korea where they meet with representatives of the bloodthirsty dictatorship. At the WCFU-III the two men were at the center of attention. In this way the gathering of shadows from the past expressed their admiration for the policies of

Seoul. Bezkhlibnyk was put on the very top of the nationalist "Olympus" by his election to the post of "Secretary" of the WCFU.

The military dictatorship of A. Stressner has been in power in Paraguay since 1954. More than a quarter of a century of his rule has brought the Paraguayan people horrible repression, economic and cultural decline, hunger and despair. All democratic institutions are banned. For the expression, however insignificant, of public discontent people are thrown into prison. The corruption in the country's governing bodies has reached staggering proportions. Stressner himself is not only the head of the Paraguayan government but is reported to have become the head of Paraguayan smugglers.

But all these contacts and statements are evidently in line with the aims and "independence" ideas that are to be found in politicking of the WCFU leadership and of other nationalist groups. No wonder they never miss a chance to demonstrate their support of the fascist dictator in Paraguay.

The nationalists had a monument to Taras Shevchenko erected in the square named after Stressner in the Paraguayan town of Encarnacion. All those who are able to look at things unbiasedly can easily see the great sacrilege and cynicism of this act. Firstly, those who initiated the erection of the monument to the great poet of freedom and friendship among nations were former Nazi collaborators. Secondly, the monument was set up in the capital of a fascist state not because of any lofty considerations but in order to pervert the essence of works of the great Ukrainian poet. By sanctioning the monument the nationalists wanted to hide their anti-democratic activities behind the greatness of Shevchenko's poetry. Thirdly, Stressner himself was invited to attend the official unveiling of the monument, whose presence turned the event into a suitable occasion

for glorifying fascism in Paraguay which thus was made to look as promoting, so to say, the "cultural processes" in the country.

Mstyslav (Stepan Skrypnyk), who was elected to the governing body of the WCFU at its Third Congress (and who was, way back at the time of the Civil War in Ukraine a colonel in the army of Petlura, and later was consecrated a bishop by the Nazis) addressed Stressner with an obsequious speech. It was filled by this enemy of the Ukrainian people with everything possible just to please the dictator and to make a good impression on him. The peak in this disgusting panegyric to fascism was reached when the bloody-minded dictator was thanked for "being faithful to the principles of humanitarianism not in words but in deeds (thousands upon thousands of murdered and imprisoned people, with the majority of Paraguayans driven to despair: these are no doubt deeds not words), and for the struggle of international forces that want to put the world into chains."

Evidently, in the opinion of the WCFU leadership, the free world exists only within the borders of fascist dictatorships.

In connection with the farcical unveiling of the monument to the poet of freedom in the capital of a fascist state, and in the atmosphere of pro-fascist guff raised by the apologists of anti-communism and anti-democratism, the New York-based progressive *The Ukrainian American* (now *Ukrainian News*) newspaper wrote that the name of Shevchenko was brazenly used to justify the fascist regime.

The indelible feature of ideology and activities of Ukrainian nationalism is its predilection for reactionary dictatorships and monarchies. At the end of the 1970s the newspaper *Holos Lemkivshchyny*, which is published by a constituent organization of the WCFU, dominated

by the Bandera faction, wrote about respect all nationalist leaders have for "Imperial, Royal or Hetman systems" of government and called the autocratic power of one person "blessed" and "most appropriate" for any nation.

The Ukrainian nationalists look into the past for inspiration. Ukrainian nationalism is a ghost from the past. There is no place for it in the future.

When the participants of the WCFU-III in New York were speaking about democracy and freedom, they had repression, fascism, and bondage on their minds. Putting on a mask of "champions for democracy," the organizers and leaders of the WCFU-III and of other nationalists' congresses and organizations remain upholders of the ideas of fascism, meanwhile doing all they can to subvert democracy and human rights.

The WCFU-III ended in a noisy demonstration "in defense of human rights of the Ukrainian people" that passed through one of the streets of New York. No wonder a tumult was raised: voices calling out anti-communist slogans had been trained in the Nazi military by having to bellow "Heil Hitler" with great zeal and enthusiasm.

But no matter how hard the anti-Soviet-minded nationalists try, they will not be able to disguise their true nature. They have always been enemies of working people, of people of good will. The only right of man that they accept without any reservation is the right, in the words of the Bandera faction leader Yaroslav Stetsko, "to be destroyed, with no exceptions."

The vast majority of ethnic Ukrainians abroad does not want to have anything to do with such "champions for human rights," rightfully calling them "mercenaries" of various dictatorships. They put on robes of "supporters of democracy" only when they find the moment opportune, when fascism has to retreat, and democratic

forces in this or that country of the West are in the offensive. But whenever common sense in a Western state begins to shrink with the onset of jingoism, racism, militarism, and McCarthyism, the way it happened in the USA in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ukrainian nationalists discard their disguises. That is why lately they have become more straightforward by publicly demonstrating their support of dictatorial regimes in various parts of the globe, and in boasting of their collaboration with the Nazis in the past.

A WOLF'S NATURE CANNOT BE CHANGED

Have you heard the good news, dear readers? Bandera cutthroats have announced that they "are vitally interested in scrapping nuclear weapons"! They want peace above all else!

Banderites engaged in saber-rattling? Never! That's the lie spread by journalists from Moscow and Kiev! All Banderites are "for peace"!

Banderites wanted to have vast numbers of the Ukrainian people destroyed? It would be quite contrary to the OUN principles.

As far as ideas "of sacrificing half of mankind" in the name of "victory over communism" are concerned, such ideas have never been expressed in Bandera publications, and what is more they have never existed. Everybody knows that Banderites are of a very "peaceful disposition"!

The above arguments, pearls of journalism indeed, have been taken from the Munich-based newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohy* (Way of Victory), one of the Bandera-faction periodicals. It is the very same weekly that from

its very first issue has been filled with propaganda of "the Crusade," i. e. war in which all the most sophisticated means of mass destruction of people should be used. It should be noted in passing that the OUN prophets of doom invariably designate Ukraine, which they have nothing in common with and harbor ill feelings toward, as the focal point of nuclear disaster.

Maybe the author of the article extolling the "peaceful disposition" of the Bandera faction has been motivated by the fear of his own destruction in the nuclear holocaust?

But looking through the pages of the same issue one very soon comes to the conclusion that no metamorphosis of Bandera ideals had taken place, and there was just an awkward attempt to disguise a wolf as a sheep.

Shlyakh Peremohy, as one can easily discover, published an encomium to war and aggression on the third page of the issue in question. Its author is none other than the Bandera faction leader Ya. Stetsko, formerly an obedient servant of the Nazis. Following are a couple of quotations from the article: "SALT-2 is of no use"; "detente is not a way... to avoid nuclear war." The question of how to strengthen peace and security on earth is answered by Stetsko in a manner typified by Bandera propaganda: the solution is through "stepped-up military effort." This mysanthrope, whose mind is affected with the mania of war, once again expressed his perennial hope that "the moment will come."

As far as the alleged desire of the Bandera faction to see nuclear weapons "scrapped" is concerned, one has to say that at every opportunity their publications put forward demands for creation of new types of mass destruction weapons. On many occasions the Bandera publications praised new sophisticated nuclear weapons developed by the Pentagon. The neutron bomb, for example, was called "humane" killer by Stetsko himself...

The Bandera faction of Stetsko is trying to publicize its "striving" to see nuclear weapons "scrapped" among wider audiences of Western countries. One such attempt is described in a "collection of documents" about the activities of the so-called Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, that was published by the OUN Bandera faction. In the middle of the 1950s a rally was organized by the Stetsko-Bandera faction whose participants carried placards with provocative slogans, one of which said in huge letters (huge — so as to make, evidently, the "peaceable disposition" of the demonstrators seen from afar): "Drop A-bombs on the Kremlin!"

In his autobiography, written for the Nazi military command and discovered in the archives of Rosenberg, Stetsko expressed his desire to see "the German methods of extermination of Jews practiced in Ukraine too." His current "activities" as well as his past prove that Stetsko and his ilk bear the same kind of "love" toward Russians, Poles, Czechs and other ethnic peoples of the world, whom he wants to see burned to extinction in the nuclear fire. No doubt he wishes the same "happy lot" to the American people as well. It was Americans who wounded him at the end of the Second World War when he, together with his Nazi masters, was fleeing from just punishment.

Do nationalists want to see Ukraine in a more favorable situation? one may ask. The answer can be found in one of the OUN-circulated instructions dating to the time of WWII. It said in part: "One shouldn't really mind if people should hate us for being cruel. There is nothing terrible in having only a half of 40 million Ukrainians survive."

The Bandera-Stetsko warmongers have since made considerable "progress." They are not satisfied now with just a half of the Ukrainian population. Having in mind the possibility of *Shlyakh Peremohy* attempting to deny

the nationalists' warmongering, we will quote from the Banderite periodical *Homin Ukrainy* which stated in its issue of March 5, 1977, on page 9: "We have lived through two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century, and now there are signs we will live to see the third, probably greatest and most horrible, world war. The approaching threat of the third world war is welcomed by us as, probably, the last but maybe the happiest moment. Even if a half of mankind or more dies in this war, in our opinion it would not be too great a price to pay for winning freedom."

"Is it coming?" came the battle cry from *Shlaykh Peremohy* which was transported with delight when the situation in Southeast Asia was once again pushed to a precarious brink several years ago. The author of the militaristic article called it the biggest chance so far of a local war triggering the world war.

When one reads things like this it becomes very difficult to understand those Western politicians who consider such statements to be one of the manifestations of democracy. It is as difficult to understand American editors who, in mid-1981, published in their periodicals an interview with Stetsko in which the former Nazi collaborator demanded to "put a stop to detente" and "to step up military efforts."

This is what the Bandera "peace championing" is like in reality. The attempts of Bandera extremists to pose as "peaceloving people" look quite odious. All attempts to disguise a wolf so as to make it look like a sheep will fail.

PROVOCATIONS AND AGENTS PROVOCATEURS: WASHINGTON BEHIND THE SCENES

Imagine what an outcry would be raised in the White House, Congress, the State Department, and at all the levels of U.S. government and particularly in the American mass media, if a member of parliament in a foreign country demanded in categorical terms that the present social system in the U.S. be changed! Or, speaking at a session of parliament he'd say that the United States should be separated into 50 "independent" states, motivating his idea by declaring that such dismemberment would be "of great advantage" to *his* country!

No doubt such proclamations would be treated by all realistically-minded people as a provocation, an open interference into internal affairs of the USA, an act incompatible with international law. Washington would surely get ready to retaliate.

When similar statements concerning sovereign countries are made in Washington, they are not considered in the USA, at least judging by the available facts, to be anything out of the ordinary. At the end of the 1960s Congressman Raryk said, speaking in the House of Representatives, that it had to be understood that Ukraine, if it were free and independent (meaning capitalist — Ye. Sh.) could become a considerable asset for America and the whole free world..." This ill-advised statement seems to have been passed over in silence in Washington, as if nothing had happened.

And what is more, such statements of U.S. legislators are far from occasional and have become routine.

In the autumn of 1978, speaking at the WCFU-III, U.S. government official Ye. Mezvinsky supported the resolution, adopted at this meeting of the relicts from the Nazi past, which demanded no less than the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. It was couched in

such terms that one might think it was a home affair, say, the division of Pennsylvania, California or any other U.S. state that was thought to be "too large," into "independent" countries.

One of the speeches, made in Congress by Gerald Ford, later the 38th U.S. President, showed that it was not an occasional aberration but a clear-cut tendency of Congressional opinion about this political issue. About six months before Representative Raryk made the above statement in the House, Gerald Ford had said at a street rally of Ukrainian nationalists which he had been invited to attend, that he shared the idea of the "necessity" to create a special commission in the Congress to deal, in other words to interfere, with matters concerning internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Congressman E. Derwinsky, known for his contacts with the extreme right, called upon the U.S. government to go ahead with the interference into Soviet internal affairs and to seek "dismemberment" of the USSR at the time when President Nixon was conducting negotiations in Moscow.

At present, when anti-communism has become the stock in trade in political speculations of Washington, when the White House dictates to the Poles, Egyptians, Libyans, Swedes, Dutch, Japanese, Spaniards and Afghans what they should and what they should not do, anti-Soviet provocations have become a prominent feature in the activities of many U.S. Congressmen.

The official publications of Congress *Congressional Records* have supplied numerous examples along these lines; only a few examples have been chosen.

Congressman J. Addabo praises the anti-Soviet subversive activities of former Nazi collaborators, open enemies of Ukraine and Ukrainian people, and calls upon the Congress to support their unequivocally provocative demands.

Congressman H. Hyde submits to the House of Rep-

resentatives for consideration the text of the resolution which has been prepared by anti-Soviet nationalists. It carries a thoroughly provocative demand, addressed to the State Department, to make Soviet authorities cancel some of their legal decisions, i. e. free, among other things, several criminals who have been found guilty of crimes and convicted in strict accordance with Soviet laws.

Congressman D. Lungren, trying to find faults with the monolythic unity of the multinational Soviet state, called the proclamation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1922 "a concession" made to the Ukrainian nationalists.

In recent years it was Congressman Stratton who probably went further than anybody else; he must have forgotten that as a member of the U.S. Congress he can put forward only such proposals before the Congress that deal with issues of the U.S. foreign and home policy, without transgressing the existing principles and laws that regulate legislative activities. Congressman Stratton advised the people of Ukraine what they should do and how. In his opinion there was nothing more vital for the Ukrainian people than "the determined America, brimming with ideas."

Even a cursory glance at the above and other similar statements, made by U.S. Congressmen, can convince one that, in the atmosphere of rampant anti-Sovietism and militarism, a certain unity of opinions and some joint efforts are shared by those who have been elected to protect the interests of the American people on the one hand, and extreme right reactionaries from nationalist groups on the other.

Provocations and various forms of interference in internal affairs of the Soviet Union are the terms that can be applied to the instances of U.S. officials attending nationalist rallies on the occasions of some jubilees

of the *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council — the short-lived counterrevolutionary government in Ukraine at the time of the Civil War), and congresses of the nationalist organizations. In the same category of provocations and interference are occasions on which persons, who are compromised by their service in the armed forces and other organizations of the Third Reich, and who were involved in massive extermination of civilians and prisoners-of-war, are allowed to appear and make statements in the lobbies of the Congress and State Department.

Nationalism has always been in the front ranks of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet subversive activities of U.S. imperialism, but at times when reactionary tendencies get the upper hand in Washington's policy, when the power is in the hands of right-wing politicians, then the activities, carried out under the slogans of nationalism, have a clear-cut tendency of being stepped up. Such a course is incompatible with the cause of peace and good, and neighborly relations. By its support of provocative intentions of Ukrainian nationalists, Washington demonstrates its true worth, dangerously pushing mankind towards the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The policy of coercion and provocations is not in the interests of the majority of Americans who want peace.

...ROLLING DOWN INTO THE PRECIPICE...

With the passage of time the struggle for a better piece of the nationalist pie, in other words for the money supplied by the secret services and the sums collected from Ukrainians around the world, grows in intensity. At the same time grows the number of reluctant confessions to the fact that the majority of

Ukrainians, living in the West, have grown sick and tired of the so-called "liberating" politicking of the leadership of the anti-Soviet nationalist groups. That is why self-proclaimed leaders have to fight not only between themselves but also against the prevailing majority of ethnic Ukrainians abroad using the dirtiest tricks and methods. Those who have contacts with Soviet people or visit Ukraine are subjected to harassment; some are accused of "communist agitation" and vilified for the refusal to speak out against the Soviet Union or engage in blackmail, provocations and falsifications.

Nationalist propaganda and the leadership of the reactionary nationalist organizations complain, now more often than ever, that even nationalistically-minded Ukrainians living in the West find themselves in open conflict with the nationalist leadership. The former head of the so-called Ukrainian National Council in Munich P. Belay once wrote: "Disappointment... and lassitude have entered the hearts of those who once blindly believed in the so-called 'liberation' policy."

Some nationalist leaders and journalists find themselves in a situation where they are forced not only to mention instances of disenchantment but also admit that they are the natural part of general trends. R. Rakhmanny, for example, wrote that he was not at all surprised to see "that certain numbers of Ukrainians, and sometimes even entire Ukrainian communities, are every so often overcome by despair." He bitterly deplores the fact that soon the older generation of the after-war emigration will have nobody to bequeath their anti-Soviet activities to, since young people of Ukrainian descent are reluctant to join nationalist groups. I. Kedrin says that among the nationalists the it-is-none-of-my-business principle is gaining wide currency. The one-time editor of the Canada-based Melnyk-faction newspaper *Novy Shlyakh* (New Pathway) Ya. Hayvas wrote that quite

a few of non-native Ukrainians join nationalist groups just "to lull their consciousness" and do not participate in any way in their work and even often talk those who do out of contributing any effort.

By conducting activities which are traitorous and criminal in essence, and which are directed against the interests of the masses, Ukrainian nationalists speed up the inevitable disintegration of reactionary nationalist groups. The Trenton-based bulletin *Nash Holos* has to admit that anti-Soviet organizations "are rolling down into the precipice at a terrifying speed."

The Chicago-based newspaper *Ukrainske Zhyttya* (Ukrainian Life), in its turn admitting the existence of a deep chasm among the nationalists, wrote that membership of reactionary organizations comprised only an insignificant number of ethnic Ukrainians abroad.

It is an established fact that leaders of Ukrainian nationalism use their position to their own personal advantage. Fulfilling the tasks set before them by Western secret services, they pocket the money from the so-called "independence funds." Sober-minded Ukrainians, living in the West, are little by little becoming convinced that nationalist organizations are headed by people who look at everything from the point of view of increasing their own wealth, trying to get some profit out of anything, and masking it with phraseology about "lofty ideals and aims."

The above-mentioned P. Belay who had been done out of his share of the pie, confessed that "...I, as a former head of the Ukrainian National Council, who has had a chance to see some of the things that were going on... can say after a sober reflection — those who give their money as a contribution to the Ukrainian National Council... just throw away what they have earned by their labor..., because most of their money is put into the wrong channels, and some of it goes into the

'no-good fund' which is used for the purpose of demoralizing the weak-willed members of our émigré community in the interests of unscrupulous people."

It is no wonder then that a growing number of ethnic Ukrainians abroad, including those who only recently were taking part in anti-Soviet actions, develop a negative attitude towards the leaders of nationalist organizations and refuse to participate in new provocations.

The reactionary leaders' stance against peace, their warmongering, their praising of the regimes in Chile, South Korea, and El Salvador, arouse indignation among growing numbers of people of Ukrainian descent living in the West.

There are cases when some people of Ukrainian descent refuse to recognize themselves as ethnic Ukrainians or change their Ukrainian names, thus trying to dissociate themselves from the lines of nationalist policies pursued by the nationalist leadership.

The *Svoboda* newspaper carried an interview with a group of Ukrainian Americans in which people of different occupations (a historian, a secretary, a teacher, etc.) answered the question: "What is your view of the future of Ukrainians in the USA?" Among the answers were: "The Ukrainian community will disintegrate"; "youth organizations are going to steadily decline"; "the way things look today, there is no promise of a bright future." Even from this sample of opinions of Ukrainians living in the West one can deduce that they have only one way of preserving their ethnic features — the one of departing from negative attitudes toward Soviet Ukraine in particular, and refusing to support anti-Soviet politicking in general.

Шеремет Евгений Евгеньевич

КТО И ПОЧЕМУ БОИТСЯ ПРАВОСУДИЯ

Памфлеты

(На английском языке)

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До збірки ввійшли твори, в яких автор на основі фактів про діяльність емігрантських буржуазно-націоналістичних угрупувань розвінчує антинародну сутність українського буржуазного націоналізму.

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